

A
DISSERTATION,
HISTORICAL and POLITICAL,

ON THE
Ancient REPUBLICS of ITALY:

From the ITALIAN of CARLO DENINA. *S.M.* *K*

WITH
Original NOTES and OBSERVATIONS,
By JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.



L O N D O N,
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MDCCLXXIII.

DISSERTATION

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

ON THE

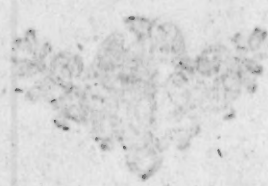
AMERICAN SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE

FROM THE PAPERS OF CAROLINE

AND

ORIGINAL NOTES

BY JOHN



BY JOHN

AND

BY JOHN

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM,
EARL of RADNOR,
Viscount FOLKSTONE, Baron
PLEYDELL-BOUVERIE, &c. &c.

My LORD,

THE Pursuit of civil and
political Knowledge has
ever been an object with the
Citizens of a free State. Un-

A 2 der

der those Governments where the Laws originate in the People, every individual is sensible of his proper consequence, both with respect to society and to himself. His Privileges are great. They are such as the wisest aims of human policy alone could institute, a subjection qualified by a power of Legislation. Could he be inattentive to the Preservation of such Privileges, his defection would not be *impolitic* merely; it would be *dishonest*; a desertion of those engagements under which he has enjoyed his

his civil security. It would be utterly superfluous for me to observe here, my LORD, that every Branch of your illustrious Family has been distinguished by a contrary character; ever faithful to legal Government, warm in its Interests, but watchful over its Principles. Among these, my Lord FOLKSTONE, the early Ornament of his Family and his Country, must not be mentioned last. Yet, whilst I speak of my noble Friend with Honour, my confidence in his Integrity alone keeps me above feeling

concern for him. He will ever have to remember, that, when he first took his share in the Legislature, he drew upon himself the attention, and raised the expectations of a people, who will not bear to be disappointed. *Huc usque adeo rem egisti, Brute, ut in omnibus optime te gerere valde necesse est. Honore plenum certe, grave tamen !*

It is a truth, my LORD, and to those whose benevolence carries them into the interests of posterity, it is a melan-

melancholy truth, that the best of human institutions must share the fate of those that formed them. Government, like Science, has its brighter and darker periods—has its infancy, maturity, and decay. In the first state, rude and uncultivated, weak and imperfect; in the second, possessing and acting upon the principles of enlightened reason; in the last, losing sight of those principles, and sinking under the accumulating corruptions of time. Regal, Consular, and Imperial Rome passed thro' these several stages, till

till she became what Lucan says of Cæsar, MAGNI NOMINIS UMBRA. The English Nation, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, seems to have approached the second stage. The genius of that age pierced the dark veil of Popery, and formed the first conception of rational Government. The birth was slow and painful, the growth interrupted by frequent and dangerous distempers. It arrived to perfection at last; and I hope, my LORD, it is something better than the old age of that perfection we enjoy.

To

To prevent its decline nothing can more effectually instruct us than a due attention to the causes of that decline in other States. The Revolutions of foreign establishments, particularly if they proceed from internal causes, afford us the most useful lessons of polity; and those writings that exhibit the aspect of Government under the various influences of times and manners, naturally lead us to observe the Genius and Character of our own.

Of this kind, my LORD, is the following Dissertation, which
I have

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I have drawn from a large Work lately published at TURIN, under the Title of *Rivoluzione d' Italia*. If there be any merit in it, it must be given to the original Author; its defects, I believe, must belong to me. It might have been rendered less imperfect, but want of time, and, what is worse, of industry, induced me to leave it in its present state.

Such as it is, my LORD, I present it to you with all possible respect. Let it testify my
sense

(xi)

sense of your kindness to me,
and that I shall ever esteem
myself,

My L O R D,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

and

most obedient servant,

Blagdon-house,
Feb. 11, 1773.

JOHN LANGHORNE.

(M)

kind of your kindness to me
and that I shall ever cherish
myself

My dear

Your friendship is more obliging

and

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Bliss

JOHN LANCHESTER

A
DISSERTATION, &c.

P A R T I.

C H A P. I.

THE history of those nations
that antiently inhabited the
tract of country which ex-
tends from the Alps to the Streights
of Sicily, and in process of time took
the name of Italy, cannot be traced
higher than the Roman æra; and even
what we can collect from the annals

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of Rome, respecting the general state of Italy, is inconsiderable and obscure. For the first inhabitants of that city, far from carrying their curiosity into the story of other states, kept but a very imperfect account of their own.

Neither does the Grecian history furnish us with better lights *. It hardly mentions Italy in any other view than that of a maritime state, lying in the neighbourhood of Sicily. The most ancient of its writers do not stand much higher than Polybius, or Fabius Pictor, the first Roman Annalist, whose memorials were trans-

* Theophrastus, the first Greek writer who gave any particular account of Italy, did not flourish till about the middle of the fifth century of Rome. Theopompus, indeed, wrote before him; but he barely mentioned the city being taken by the Gauls, and an Embassy sent to Alexander.

ferred into the labours of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy. Freely, therefore, shall we leave it to investigators of higher curiosity and erudition to dispute concerning the first inhabitants of Italy; since the most ancient author on that subject, must certainly have lived many years after their origination, and consequently must have wandered in the region of conjecture. He who, in so remote a period, with such a scarcity and confusion of materials, such a mixture of vain and unconfidential fable, should have the hardiness to speak with assurance concerning the ancient state of Italy, must only say that it was under the government and occupation of the Tyrrhenes, more commonly known by the name of Etruscans, or Tuscans. Though it is impossible for us to say from whence

this people drew their origin, whether from the neighbouring coasts of Greece, or immediately from the eastern nations*; it is certain, nevertheless, that this people were very considerable in Italy, and that the Greeks paid no small respect to their reputation. It is difficult to determine when they were in their highest glory, but if the chronologers of times so remote deserve any credit, we are to believe that they passed into Italy about two centuries after the Trojan war, and more than two before the foundation of Rome. Certain it is, that, under the last Kings of Rome,

* Pliny tells us, that the Pelasgi first brought letters into Italy; and it is more than probable, therefore, that the Tuscans originated from them, as that people ever stood in the first distinction for Arts and Literature.

their

their power was in a declining state, and that they were forced to cede to the Romans the best part of their territories. For beside Hetruria, whose boundaries were the Appenines, the Tyrrhene sea, and the Tiber; they had possessed themselves of part of the Venetian territories, and of Campania, which the ancients esteemed the finest region of Italy. It appears that the Tuscans, or Tyrrhenes, began to fall from their ancient power, when, instead of their original monarchical government, they divided into several dynasties, or independent republics. The fertility of their country, moreover, the success of their first enterprizes, their commerce, and the arts they exercised, threw them into luxury, and that laid them open to all the vicissitudes entailed on human fortunes.

Both Latin and Greek historians tell us of the luxury of the Tyrrhenes, and their consequential vices, their libidinous and gluttonous propensities, their attachment to superstition, and all the nonsense of witchcraft. But it does not from these appear that their possessions in the center of Italy, at that time, went beyond Hetruria. For not only Diodorus and Athenæus, but Plato and Theophrastus, who have expatiated on the luxury of the Tyrrhenes, wrote at a time when they had ceded to the Gauls and Samnites nearly two thirds of their dominions. That luxury and effeminacy, however, should continue in a declining state is by no means extraordinary. We see the same continue in states that have totally lost their original form, and passed under different governments. Ambition, and other passions

passions which disturb the tide of government, amongst the Tuscans were softened down to a mere desire to please, a kind of personal vanity and domestic delicacy, to which the climate of their country seemed principally to contribute. But with all the vices that cast a shade on the Tuscan virtue, it is certain, from the testimonies of antiquity, that these were the first people who cultivated the wild regions of Italy, and that she had put off the barbarity of her original times, when she again submitted to the arms of Barbarians.

C H A P. II.

IT was usual with the Ancients, when a colony became too numerous for its territory, to send off detachments of their Youth, who were either to acquire a new country by the fortune of war, or by an amicable negociation with some people whose regions would admit of fresh colonists. This being the custom for many ages in Italy, was the occasion of great and almost continual revolutions. But while the scene of property and politics was changing, the face of nature was changing too, and every new colony promoted the great business of cultivation. And as commerce and the arts were introduced, the means of self-subsistence

ence became more easy. The spirit of civil society grew with these. Communities were more attached to their place of settlement, and the migrating disposition declined.

Wars, at the same time, which no civilization can ever extirpate, and which follow in proportion to the increase of society, were constantly occasioning revolutions, and absorbing the redundancies of population *. In consequence of the latter, migration became less frequent, as it was less necessary. The western quarters being more slowly cultivated, retained

* Such, certainly, was the effect; but the necessity of war, for that purpose, is not here implied. While more than half the earth lies uncultivated, the increase of the human species cannot be an evil to be removed by the sword.

their

their barbarity longer, and in these ignorance and want of policy still rendered it necessary to thin their colonies by detachments, when they became too numerous. Ambigath, King of the Celts, it is said, finding his people multiply too fast, ordered several thousands to seek fresh pasture. Part of these, under the conduct of Belloveſe, paſſed into Italy, and drove the Tufcans, and the reſt of the inhabitants, out of thoſe regions, where, in proceſs of time, they built the cities of Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, and Cremona. Theſe new ſettlers finding plenty of paſture, drew others of their country. They tell us, moreover, that Aruns, a Tuſcan Chief, by private intrigues and promiſes, brought over the Barbarians into Italy. If this be true, the ſpirit of diſcord, which has ſo often ſubjected

subjected that country to a foreign
 yoke, is of high antiquity. How-
 ever, what we may principally de-
 pend upon, is the relation of the
 coming of the Gaulish Celts into
 Italy. About three hundred and fifty
 years after the foundation of Rome,
 and four hundred years before the A.C.
 vulgar æra, the Gauls, who already ^{400.}
 occupied great part of the country on
 the Po, advanced into Hetruria, or
 Tuscany, as far as the coast of Si-
 enna, (where was the once famous,
 but now forsaken city of Clusium,)
 and sacked and burned Rome. But
 whether they were unambitious of
 further conquests, after satisfying their
 hunger on the plentiful banks of the
 Po, or whether they thought it bet-
 ter to defend their present territories
 from the Venetian arms, than to go
 in pursuit of fresh acquisitions, or,
 in

in whatever manner the Italians got rid of their ferocious invaders, they took proper measures to secure their unexpectedly recovered possessions for the future. The invasion, nevertheless, had made a considerable change in the posture of affairs. The Gauls had, in the first place, made themselves masters of the best and most fertile part of the country, and, by thus dismembering it, occasioned a change in its laws, its customs, and its name. Those that settled on the Po, over-ran the duchy of Milan, and, assuming the name of the people they had conquered, were called *Insubri*. Those who advanced further, towards that quarter where Bergamo and Brescia now stand, retained their native appellation of *Genomani*. The Bœi settled nearer to Etruria, where now
are

are Modena, Reggio, and Bologna, which takes its name from them. The last that came here were the *Senones*, who extended themselves from Umbria as far as Rimini. Thus that large tract of country, which, after the decline of the Roman empire, was called Lombardy, and which from the Gauls, who occupied it, had the name of Gallia Cisalpina, was separated from the rest of Italy; whilst, for three whole centuries, what was called Italy was bounded by the Arno, in the neighbourhood of Pisa, and by the Rubicon, between Rimini, and Ravenna. It is true, that between these boundaries and the Alps, some nations remained, which, either through their native ferocity, or the inaccessibility of their country, or their skill

in

in arms, were unconquered, if even assaulted by the Gauls. Amongst these were the Ligurians, under which name may be comprehended the ancient inhabitants of Piedmont; the *Salassi*, who inhabited the valley of Aosta, and that tract of country where the Romans afterwards built Jurea; lastly the Venetians, situated between the Adige and the Adriatic Gulf, a people, whose fortunes, from the remotest antiquity, were distinct from the other provinces of Italy, and from the world in general.

Beside dismembering Italy of its best provinces, the invasion and settlement of the Transalpine Gauls had another important effect. The Italian States were seldom without the seeds of discord, and their neighbours the Gauls had a natural propensity
to

to broils, and military conflicts, and were ever ready to follow the first that would call them. A particular tribe of them, called Gefuti, or Mercenaries, of this warlike turn, made it their trade to fight for any one that would pay them; like those Palatines, who, a thousand years after, afforded so many subjects for romance*; or those adventurers, who, in the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-

* These were the original Knights Adventurers. The exhibitions they gave of their prowess were only to enhance their pay, that, like Homer's Heroes, they might be rewarded with a larger slice of beef. Amidst the mutual depredations of contiguous States, when the young women were carried off by the enemy, these Adventurers were hired to redeem them, and frequently paid with their persons. Hence the origin of amorous chivalry.

turies,

turies, fought for hire, in favour of any of the Italian States that would retain them. All that tract of country, properly called Ancient Italy, was still divided into several States, as it had been before the invasion of the Gauls : And though we know little more of those States than what relates to the antiquities of Rome, and what the Roman writers have left us, it is, nevertheless, certain, that many nations and independent States previously flourished in Italy, most of which might have afforded more materials for History than Rome possibly could have done before the Carthaginian war ; and many of them might have taken place in the memory of posterity, had they met with a Thucydides, a Xenophon, or a Pausanias.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

HOWEVER tedious numerical details may be in general, we must necessarily give an account of those nations of Ancient Italy, which, exclusively of Cisalpine Gaul, flourished in the Times of Rome. Those whose curiosity may require a minuter detail than we shall give, we refer to Strabo, Cluverius, and other ancient Geographers.

The Tuscans, though they had lost the provinces they formerly possessed on the side of the Apenines, were still a powerful nation, possessing, beside the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, great part of what is now called the Ecclesiastical State, St. Peter's Patrimony, the provinces of
C Orvieto,

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C Orvieto,

Orvieto and Perugia. The Etruscan nation was for a long time so much superior to Rome, that any one of the twelve Dynasties into which it was divided, was able to cope with her. Veii, or Vejentum, which, after a long and famous siege, submitted to the Romans, was considered as a city of equal strength. Yet Vejentum was not much superior to Cortona, Perusia, Aretium, Volaterræ, or Clusium.

Another considerable tract of Italy, not inferior to Tuscany, was inhabited by the *Umbri*, a people who, for a long time, rivaled the Etruscans; and though they had not so many large and populous cities as the latter, they had many very respectable, among which were Sarsina, Urbino, Camarino, Gubbio, Spoleti, Folig-

Foligno, Todi, Terni, Narni, and Otricoli, some of which still retain their ancient name.

Neighbours to Umbria were the Sabines, who inhabited a smaller and less fertile district, but were not inferior in bravery, or in numbers. As they maintained their independency against the Umbrians and the Tuscans, so they long held out against the Romans: For that certainly was but a small part of them, which, after several battles, is said to have incorporated with the Romans under Tatius.

Of this Province, which was then wholly comprehended under the name of Latium, and is now called *Campagna di Roma*, a very small part only was occupied by the Romans;

even so low down as four hundred years after the building of Rome. For, beside the Latins, properly so called, or the inhabitants of ancient Latium, whereof the Roman state made a part, there subsisted four powerful and warlike nations, the Equi, the Volscians, Hernicians, and Ausonians. Each of these nations thought itself equal to the Republic of Rome, till the wars of Pyrrhus.

In that long tract of Italy, now called the kingdom of Naples, were many free and powerful states; the Marfians, the Vestinians, the Pelignians, the Marrucinians, the Ferentians, and the Samnites, who inhabited what is now called *Abruzzo*, and part of *Apulia*. The Irpinians, the Daunians, the Messapians, the Peucetians, who occupied what we
call

call the *Terra di Bari*, *Otranto*, and *Basilicata*. From thence, descending towards modern Calabria, were the Lucanians, the Brutians, the Picentians, who possessed and cultivated more than twice the tract of country that belonged to the four nations, comprehended under the name of Latins. Nay, many of them occupied more than all Latium in its farthest extent. Then the Campanians, who inhabited the best part of that country, which, for the excellence of its fertility, was called *Terra di Lavoro*, or the Arable Country, where was and still is the city of Naples, where was the famous Capua of old, and is now the modern city of that name; — These people possessed a very respectable state. To these several Nations or

Republicks may be added many maritime towns, which formed distinct states, such as Tarentum, Thurium, Heraclea, Rhegium, and Crotona. These were not inferior in strength to the maritime cities of Asia Minor and Greece, as those on the continent were able to contend with the famous states of Peloponnesus and Achaia.

Of those innumerable Republicks that filled Italy, hardly any was so inconsiderable as not to be able to send ten or fifteen thousand men into the field; at least, as not to defend themselves, by means of their fortifications, against the assaults of a powerful enemy. And many of them would once in fifteen years, send out colonies of forty or fifty thousand, as the Volscians, the Latins and Samnites

nites frequently did. Were we to turn to the particular details which ancient Geographers and Historians have left us, we should find that the Crotonians had a hundred and thirty thousand men in arms, and the Sybarites three hundred thousand; that the Tarentines sent eighty thousand foot and eight thousand horse to the assistance of the Samnites; and that they boasted, by their Ambassadors, to Pyrrhus, that they were able to send him three hundred and twenty thousand horse, beside the infantry of the Lucanians and Messapians. We will readily suppose that these accounts are exaggerated, or, at least, that these things happened at a time, when Tarentum, Sybaris and Crotona, or some Prince, who reigned over those cities, had other dominions, and that the respective contingents of troops assumed

the general name of the Tarentine army, from the principal city. We cannot, at the same time, without impeaching the veracity of the most respectable historians of antiquity, and giving way to the utmost latitude of Pyrrhonism, deny that many of the Italian States, though confined within narrow districts, were very powerful. A celebrated modern writer, who has shewn so much inclination to believe, and so much industry to demonstrate, that the People of Antiquity were not so numerous as they have been represented*, still found himself obliged to make exceptions with regard to

* Wallace, in his Dissertation on the difference of the number of inhabitants in ancient and modern times, maintains, upon better grounds, the contrary opinion. Hume supports his arguments with great learning, and

Italy, which, he acknowledges, in the early times of the common-wealth of Rome, must have been populous beyond comparifon. One evident proof, to omit minuter arguments, may be drawn from the mufter of the Roman army, and that of the confederate states, at a time when a fresh invafion was apprehended from the Tranfalpine Barbarians. Polybius gives a diftinct account of it; and it was related by Fabius Pictor, who, at the fame time, was in the firft rank of civil and military diftinction. On advice of an incurfion of the Gauls, the Sabines and Tufcans armed feventy thoufand foot, and four thoufand horfe: The

and fome right reflections; but he falls into a capital error by confounding the periods of time, and makes but little diftinction between the times of Pyrrhus and thofe of Cæfar.

Umbrians,

Umbrians, and some people who inhabited that quarter of the Apenines, twenty thousand; the Romans twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse; the Latins thirty-two thousand horse and foot; the Samnites, who had been recently engaged in a destructive war with Rome, whereby they had lost, in different engagements, at least a hundred thousand men, furnished seventy thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; the Iapygyans and Messapians fifty thousand infantry, and sixteen thousand cavalry; the Lucanians thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and the Marsians, Marrucinians, Ferentians, and Vestinians twenty-four thousand foot and horse. So that a part of Italy, not so large as the Ecclesiastical State and the kingdom of Naples, on the first muster, supplied

plied upwards of seven hundred thousand armed men; a number which two of the most powerful monarchies in Europe would at this time find it impossible to raise. And if we reflect on the havock made by the Gallic and Carthaginian wars, and that not only the Samnites, but most of the other states of Italy, had, for a century past, been greatly depopulated by the sword, we may clearly infer that in the time of Pyrrhus these people were capable of arming a much greater number, than they did at the juncture mentioned by Polybius. It is certain, moreover, that these people who sent their respective supplies to the confederate army, could have furnished four times the number of men in case of any particular danger of their own,
No

No state in our times could maintain a number of soldiers more than in the proportion of one to an hundred of the inhabitants, without either some peculiar excellency in the administration, or absolute ruin; whilst in ancient times, and in those small states, they could arm without trouble eight or ten in the hundred. It is not from thence, however, less obvious, that a state or territory, which sent fifteen or twenty thousand men into the field, must have contained two hundred thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless it seems almost incredible, that Italy should be able to maintain such multitudes. In order to account for this, it will be necessary to enquire into the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and into the qualities of the country they cultivated.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

IT is not probable that the climate, or the natural constitution of Italy, should be changed from what it was of old. It is more reasonable to suppose that it would improve, and become in general more temperate, by clearing such immense tracts of woodland not only in Italy, but in the neighbouring nations of France and Germany, which formerly contributed to make the air cold and ungenial, and the soil, of course, less fruitful. All the natural injuries that Italy can have suffered, must be confined to a few provinces in the kingdom of Naples, where the eruptions of Vesuvius, by covering the adjacent country with ashes, have hurt

hurt its former fertility. Indeed, I do not know whether the territory of Capua, and the kingdom of Naples, are now equal to that happy Campania*, so much celebrated by ancient writers. But, in general, we cannot suppose that the quality of the soil or the climate has been changed by any physical cause. So barren, nevertheless, and uncultivated is Italy esteemed to be at this day, that it is not, upon calculation, thought capable of maintaining a fiftieth part of the inhabitants it contained about three centuries before the Christian æra. The wonder is, then, how it could support such numbers formerly.

* Signor Denina probably alludes here to that beautiful encomium of Florus, *Nihil mollius cælo, nihil uberius terra, nihil hospitalius mare*. And to the *Felix illa et beata amœnitas* of Pliny.

We may possibly be better inclined to believe it, if we recollect the state of Palestine in the times of Saul and David ; or if we suppose the inhabitants of any of the most populous of the Swiss Cantons settled in some part of Lombardy, the vigour and industry of the former operating upon the fertility of the latter, may give us some idea of what Italy was in the times we are describing. Yet this image would be as much unequal to the original, as the manners of the modern Swiss are, in point of simplicity, to those of the ancient Italians. This simplicity of manners, a life of labour and expedients, and robust habits, the natural consequence of such a life, were at once the causes of population, and the sources of subsistence.

That

That the Italians were in general as much attached to agriculture as to arms, is beyond a doubt; and their profits were in proportion to their superior industry. It was owing principally to this attachment, that the greatest part of the people of Italy, including under that denomination all the Cifalpine nations, lived in cottages and hamlets. Such was the custom of the Sabines, the Latins, the Vestinians, and other Samnites; so lived the Ligurians; and so, more particularly, the Cifalpine Gauls, who, though they occupied the rich and fertile country of Lombardy, were so far from constructing cities, that they could hardly be said to build themselves houses. Low, narrow, and miserable huts were their only habitations. On such a system there could be no remarkable inequality

quality of property. Every family cultivated their portion of ground on the spot where they resided, and it was by that means done with greater ease and advantage. No time was wasted in building, or making roads. The husbandman took with him his cattle and his little cart, pitched upon his ground, and not an inch of it was lost. The women, who, in modern Italy, are rather a burthen than a relief to society, were then of singular use in all domestic offices, and in the cultivation of the grounds. They passed with equal skill and industry from the loom to the rake, and fed at the same time their children and their flocks. It is true, that in provinces of ample and fertile plains, where extraordinary industry in cultivation was not necessary, large cities became more frequent, be-
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cause,

cause, the generosity of the soil dispensing with half the labour of the husbandman, ease and leisure induced the inhabitants to assemble, and to consult, in society, the pleasures and conveniences of life. Besides, where the glebe is fruitful, the air soft, and the climate genial, men are naturally more inclined to be idle, effeminate, and voluptuous. Such were the people of Campania: Whilst Etruria and Umbria, provinces that were colder than Campania, yet warmer and more fertile than the country of the Latins, the Sabines and the Samnites, partook, in some measure, of the genius and complexion of both. And as some of the Tuscans and Umbrians still lived in villages, so they had likewise many large cities. Yet the natural fertility of Etruria did not prevent the spirit

spirit of agriculture. The Tuscans of old were famous for it, and hardly yielded the palm to the Sabines, who were, undoubtedly, the best cultivators in the world. The city life, in those times, was not so much a contrast to the rural life as it is at present. The ancient cities, except in the number of their inhabitants, in some degree resembled our market towns, where we see a mixture of rusticity and embellishment; and the townsmen brought home with them at evening from their fields, their cattle, their corn, and the fruits they had gathered. This care was the more necessary, as they were almost always in a state of war with their neighbours. Their houses in these walled towns being extremely narrow and small, there were many vacant pieces of ground

within the walls, which the inhabitants did not neglect to cultivate. Thus having perpetual resources within themselves, they were able to sustain a siege of months or years*. As the female province of labour was very considerable, and included many of those offices that are now performed by men, the latter were more at liberty to pursue the business of arms, cultivation, and commerce. The woollen manufacture, which then supplied the place of silk, linen, and cotton, that now employ so many thousands of men, was wholly within that pro-

* When Hannibal besieged Casilinum, in Campania, and saw the inhabitants sowing turnips and greens within the walls, he expressed no small surprize and concern that he could not starve out the enemy. Liv. l. xxiii.

vince, and women of quality, as well as others, made it their business. This custom continued long in Italy; and we all know that Augustus Cæsar wore no cloaths but such as his wife and sisters manufactured. In Rome, so low as the year 580, when that city was, undoubtedly, the largest and most wealthy in Italy, there was no such trade as that of a Baker. The business was then performed by the women, as it is at this day in our villages. How many hundreds of robust men are now employed in such like female offices, in cities that contain three or four hundred thousand inhabitants, as Rome did then! If to these we add Cooks and Vintners, trades little known to the ancients, and all that multitude of idle domestics that fill the houses

of the Nobility, a colony might be formed sufficient to people and cultivate an immense country. That labour and industry which of old could draw provisions from the thrifty soil for such prodigious multitudes, the several kinds of food they used, and that temperate simplicity of life, which left so many at large to pursue the business of Agriculture, would afford an ample field for description. The inhabitants of the Plains, whose soil was naturally fruitful, did not on that account neglect the labours of cultivation; nor did the Alpine Peasant or Mountaineer, disdain to till his barren and ungrateful rocks. The Sybarites, by the advantages they drew from the two rivers Crathis and Sybaris, which watered their country, arrived at such opulence that their luxury passed into a proverb;

proverb; yet they rather chose to call in strangers, and divide their lands with them, than to let them lie in an uncultivated state; so strongly did the maxim prevail in those times, that the wealth and power of every state consists in the number of its inhabitants. The Ligurians, on the other hand, amidst all the penury of nature, refused to abandon their native wilds for foreign acquisitions. They supported life and liberty by tilling an obstinate and intractable soil, or rather by cultivating rocks in defiance of Nature herself. To carry rivers over their craggy plains, in order to give them some degree of fertility, required immense labour; but a large population was adequate to this, and when the fruits were enjoyed, the toil was forgotten. The nature of their po-

litical government did not permit the inutility of domestic pomp, nor suffer people in place to keep an idle train of servants. Grandeur, Honour, and Dignity in those times was to have a numerous levee of the people to offer you their votes, or to solicit your interest. Agriculture and Nobility were not thought inconsistent; and we have a thousand proofs, that, amongst the Greeks and Italians, the Nobleman no less than the Peasant, attended to the cultivation of his fields, and that his diet was altogether as simple. The Ambassadors of the several States, though chosen out of the principal Citizens, did not in those days spend more than a Deputy of the meanest borough does now. The Officer, in camp, lived like the common Soldier. The story of the

Ambas-

Ambassadors of a great Monarch, who waited on a Roman General with grand offers of money, and found him cooking his turnips, is well known. But of all the writers, political and historical, who have mentioned, or referred to this circumstance, perhaps hardly any one has made observations on it, equal to its importance*. The elder Cato, though a man of the first conse-

* Of all esculent vegetables, turnips are the wholesomest, and the most easily cultivated. They will grow every where, upon walls, upon rocks. It is hardly conceivable what quantities of these industry might raise upon the vilest soils. It is no longer difficult to account for the support of the prodigious multitudes of antiquity, when their principal people could live on these, and on those kinds of pulse from which the Fabii, the Pisos, and the Lentuli took their Names.

quence

quence in a Republick that was mistress of Africa and Europe, like Curius and Fabricius, worked and eat with his domestic servants. But however extraordinary this might be thought in the times of Sylla and Cæsar, when the Romans were immersed in every species of luxury, Cato, born and bred at Tusculum, probably retained nothing more than the original manners of the people of Latium and the Sabines. For luxury, though nursed in the city, did not so readily pass into the country.

Habits like these, at the same time that they would support, would also increase population. Celibacy in such circumstances would hardly ever be found, and the labour of an active life would promote the fertility of both sexes. So that, in
the

the end, the number of inhabitants would be too great for the produce of the country, notwithstanding every degree of parsimony and industry. But it must be observed, that as the people in mountainous countries multiply faster, and have fewer resources of maintenance, while those who live in the more fertile plains and maritime towns rather decrease in numbers, the former afford a supply to the latter. Wealth naturally produces idleness, luxury, and disease, which are no less destructive to propagation than to personal valour and bravery. But Providence has so ordered it, that one evil shall frequently be a remedy for another. For, not to mention those emigrations that the fortune of war and the vicissitudes of government occasion, the natural poverty

verty of mountainous countries excites their ever increasing inhabitants to go in quest of better support, where wealth invites, and the indolence of its possessors opens the way to them. Thus the Volscians, the Latins, the Ligurians, many of the Samnites and Tuscans, who became too numerous for the produce of their respective countries, sought their fortunes by trade and merchandise in the richer provinces of Campania or Hetruria. Political history seldom treats of mercantile affairs; yet there are many passages in ancient Historians, wherein mention is made of the Italian Merchants, and their trading to distant parts. Not only those who were, properly speaking, Merchants, the Victuallers and Purveyors of the Army, but the common soldiers traf-

trafficked in those countries where the business of war led them. There is a particular passage in Livy which confirms this. The Roman garrison in Anſura, ſays he, through the negligence of the ſoldiers, who were trafficking with the Volſcian Merchants, was ſurprized; but the number of the ſlain was not great, for, except a few invalids, they were all gone a trading with their knapſacks into the country. It is very remarkable that the Romans, who, in the ſpace of four hundred years, had got no port in Latium, had, from the year 240, open ports and warehouses in Africa. For after the firſt conſulſhip of Junius Brutus and Valerius Publicola, a Treaty of Commerce was made with the Republick of Carthage, greatly to the advantage of the Romans and their allies

allies of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circeii, Terracina, and other Latin States, with power to trade to Africa, free of all duty, except the pay of the Secretary and the Vendue Master. This Treaty, afterwards renewed and confirmed under the consulships of Valerius Corvus and Popilius Lena, is a remarkable monument of antiquity; as it shews us that in those reputedly rude and barbarous times, Government was attentive to the interests of Commerce, and proves that the Romans were not merely conversant in the art of war, but cultivated a foreign trade*. From this we may gather how very con-

* This early Commerce with Africa, accounts for those chairs of ivory so often mentioned, as used by the old Romans.

fiderable

siderable the trade of those cities must have been, which were properly called mercantile cities, such as Antium, Cuma, Thurii, Heraclia, Tarentum, Adria, and Ancona.

I know there are many, who, having bestowed the highest encomiums on the superior advantages of modern invention, and who, warm with the idea of naval improvements in particular, may smile at the account of the ancient Commerce of Italy; who, far from admitting any comparison between that and the modern Commerce of the Dutch, the English, and other naval Powers, would not even allow it equal to the Commerce of the Venetians, the Genoese, and Pisans, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But I would willingly
ask

ask these Encomiasts of modern Commerce, what are the boasted advantages the European States derive peculiarly from it? None, in my opinion; unless multiplying our wants, irritating our appetites, taking men from the secure and tranquil attentions of the pasture and the plough, and from the endearments of conjugal life, and exposing them to the mercy of winds and waves, to the pestilential influence of unnatural climates, for the sake of bringing home a few commodities which our forefathers lived longer and happier without;—unless these may be called advantages, I know of none that modern Commerce has produced*.

* The friends of modern Commerce will, probably, think, that Signor Denina has impeached its utility without much reason or propriety.

Whatever variety of sentiments there may be on this subject, it is

priety. It's public advantages, with respect to the cultivation, connection and civilization of Society admit of no question; but the Italian Writer seems to think it less favourable to the happiness of the individual than the employments of rural life. He ought, however, to have considered whether that allotment has not its peculiar miseries and misfortunes, which may weigh against those he has so strongly painted. To form a proper judgment of the merit of his argument, the best way will be to descend to the lowest sphere of life, where *real* happiness or misery exist, in the sufferings or satisfactions of nature. The common Sailor is the lowest person employed in Commerce: The common Labourer, in Agriculture. The Sailor, so far as I am able to judge from observation, is in general a happy being, whether he is of a festive or of a sober disposition. If he is sober, he is certain either of rising in his station, or, at least, of secur-

E ing

certain, that if the ancient Italians had not that extensive Commerce, which other nations have exercised in other times, yet their foreign trade was nevertheless in a flourishing state; and they enjoyed, by this means, not only the necessities but the elegancies of life. From the ports of the Tyrrhene sea, which,

ing a sufficient provision for the decline of life. If he has no proper idea of the value of money, his extravagance is not attended with the ill consequences that follow it in other spheres of life. He returns to his element to repair his finances, and never wants bread, because he never wants employment. The old age of a sailor is never miserable. When no longer able to undergo the labours of navigation, he is always *decently* provided for by his hospitable Masters. The case, with regard to the last mentioned circumstance, is, in general, very different with the labouring Husbandman. If he has not been provident in

in proportion to the shipping then in use, were numerous and considerable, they traded particularly to Sicily and Sardinia, both fruitful and populous countries, before they were laid waste by the Carthaginian wars; and also to the coasts of Africa and Egypt, from whence they were easily supplied

in the summer of life, he is wretched in its winter; condemned to pass a loathsome and ill-supported old age in the filth and penury of a parish cell. He is not exposed to the mercy of the waves, but he groans beneath the hardships of aching labour, and languishes under the oppression of scorching suns. The mariner will hardly envy his conjugal endearments, while his half naked children are crying for bread. These are the bulk of the people employed in Agriculture and Commerce.

with corn, and other principal stores, when either through natural or political defects those commodities failed at home. With respect to that part of Italy which lies on the Adriatic sea, Polybius particularly acquaints us, that the people carried on a large trade with the Illyrians, who, in the times of Augustus, had a considerable commerce with Adria, in the exchange of slaves, cattle, and skins, for wine, oil, and other merchandize.

C H A P. V.

ITALY, however, had little need of foreign Commerce, having in herself not only the sources of general nutrition, but every means of humouring the delicacy, and satisfying the luxury of the Great. She had grain in such abundance, that though her inhabitants were infinitely more numerous than in later ages, she was able to supply foreign nations, as evidently appears from Tacitus. It is true, we are told that the Romans were sometimes in want of corn, and applied for it to Sicily; but there would have been no necessity for their seeking

it abroad, had they been at peace with the Italian States. Those States undoubtedly refused to supply them, as the Samnites did, when they were in possession of Cuma. Corn was certainly often exported from Tuscany and Umbria, though those provinces were not less populous than fruitful. It is true, that the black millet not being then introduced*, they wanted a succedaneum in case of a failing harvest; but in the plains of Italy, which the peasants con-

* What Denina here calls *Meliga* (a word which Baretti, amongst a thousand other words in his very defective Dictionary, has omitted,) must have been the *Milium Indicum*, the Black or Turkey Millet, which, Pliny tells us, had been introduced into Italy only ten years before he wrote of it.

stantly

stantly watered * with great labour and industry, the common millet was frequently found in great abundance, and this, supplying the defect of other grains, is called by Strabo *the readiest remedy of famine* †. Wine abounded in every part of Italy, even after Agriculture had declined with the decrease of the people. If, in the excessive increase of population, Rome had wines from Cos and Chios, these were not so much to gratify the palate of the wealthy, as to supply her numerous inhabitants and

* *Milium in aquoso prius ferendum, deinde in calido*, says Pliny, *Hist. Nat. l. xviii.* which perfectly agrees with what Signor Denina says here,

† Pliny tells us that the Sarmatians chiefly used this grain in milk.

to promote Commerce. Besides, Rome and its environs could more easily be supplied with wine from the islands in the Archipelago than from the remoter parts of Italy. A proof of this is, that, in the time of Augustus, the Italian wines were in the highest estimation at the tables of the Great. Thus Horace, who was frequently present at those tables, and whose taste for the bottle is well known, says little * of foreign wines, but celebrates those of Latium, Campania, and some provinces in the kingdom of Naples, countries of little note now with respect to their vintage. What might he not have

* Denina says he never mentions foreign wines, but here he is mistaken.

said

said of the long esteemed wines of Tuscany, or the not inferior vintage of Liguria. In Pliny's time, at the tables of Titus and Trajan, no one chose, either for health or pleasure, any but Italian wines, though the produce of Asia and Africa was at command. Pliny himself supposes, that if the Italian wines had been known anciently in Assyria, they would have been held in the highest repute: And, in general, the greatest encomium that passed on foreign wines was that they were equal to the wines of Italy. To procure wines from France and Spain, and from provinces beyond sea, was left for the delicacy and superior refinement of the Italians, in their present servile and dependent state.

It

It is unnecessary to mention the abundance of other kinds of provisions. The woods and plains of Cisalpine Gaul, at the time it fell under the Roman yoke, contained wild hogs sufficient to support the largest armies. Nor is this a proof that the country was then unpeopled or uncultivated; for Polybius records it in a place where he is speaking of the immensity of population, and the incredible abundance of wheat, barley, millet, and wine. History, with respect to every part of Italy, makes particular mention of its flocks and herds. And it was a received opinion of the ancients that Italy had its name from its abundance of cattle *. In proportion as

* From the Greek word 'Ιταλοι, which has the same signification.

they

they abounded with flocks and herds, they had plenty of skins and wool, the latter of which articles was then in much greater use than it is at present. They had neither silk nor flax, nor linen for the tents and camp beds of the soldiers; so that these, of course, were supplied by skins and wool. Thus the plain exercises of the pastoral life answered all the purposes of human society. They fertilized the field, furnished the table, and cloathed the people. We shall leave it to minuter calculators to demonstrate what quantity of land is occupied in the cultivation of flax, and the planting of mulberries; how much labour is employed in the silk manufacture; and from thence to determine what advantages the

the ancients had over the moderns in the articles of provisions and cloathing,

It is observable here, that, notwithstanding the universality of the woollen manufacture in Italy, hardly any mention is made of the wool of Spain, or of the East, on account of its extraordinary delicacy or colour. The Milesian wool is placed by Pliny in the third degree of excellence, being inferior to two kinds of Italian wool, whereof that of Apulia was in highest repute. Luxury in the time of Cæsar introduced the Tyrian Purple; but till then, and indeed long afterwards, the purple of Tarentum * was principally

* ————— Quid placet ergo?

Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno. HOR.

in

in use. Not only the wools of the southern parts of Italy, which are still in esteem with modern manufacturers, but the various produce of those provinces which are now comprehended under the general name of Lombardy, were commended by ancient writers. The wools of Padua, though held inferior in delicacy and fineness to those of the above provinces, served, in the time of Augustus, for the richest tapestries, cloaks, and night gowns. The wools that grew in the provinces adjoining to the Po were most famous for the splendour of their white; those of Pollentia, on the banks of the Tanarus, for their beautiful natural black. The scarcity of this commodity in our times would not be complained of, were

we

we to resume the practices of the ancients; but that cultivation, so essential to the majority of the people, has been abandoned for many ages. And who would not laugh in these days, were one to send one's sheep to pasture in body-cloaths, as the people of Attica and Tarentum did of old, to preserve the delicacy and beauty of the wool?—When the Romans had conquered Spain, and began to make use of her wools, some of them, indeed, were found softer and more delicate, and, on those accounts, were by many preferred to those of Italy; but our object here is not to prove that the Italians had every thing of the same quality that other nations had, but to maintain that they had at least, in every thing, an equivalent.

Thus,

Thus, if the Spanish wool were softer than the Italian, the latter, being more durable, was more a national advantage *.

Of all cultivated cattle, the horse contributes least to the support of man, occasions the greatest consumption †, and is the least necessary. But

* Varro observes, that, though the Spanish wool was in use with some of the Romans, those who had the care of cloathing families always preferred the wool of Apulia as more lasting.

† To the immense increase of horses in this kingdom is most apparently owing the exorbitantly advanced price of provisions. The dearth of that animal, occasioned by the encouragement given to exportation, has greatly turned the attention of the Farmer to the breed. There are, upon a moderate computation, two hundred thousand horses
more

the business of Commerce, and the idea that still prevails of the utility of cavalry in war, keeps up the breed. In ancient Italy the horses were numerous and excellent. The Venetian horses bore a high price in Greece and Sicily; and in Apulia, a province which had the fewest of any other kind of cattle, the breed of horses was most abundant. A detachment of Carthaginians being once sent by Hannibal to make booty in Apulia, brought back such a prodigious number of colts, that Hannibal

more in this kingdom than there were twenty years ago, and that number will consume the produce of as much ground as is sufficient to maintain a million of men. It is to little purpose, therefore, for Government to prohibit the exportation of corn, whilst the exportation of horses is permitted.

selected

selected no fewer than four thousand for his troopers to break.

It were endless to enumerate the various advantages Italy enjoyed, before she rose, in appearance, to grandeur, but fell, in reality, to poverty and meanness. Beside all that we have mentioned, she had quarries of marble, and metals within herself sufficient for all the purposes of life and commerce. It is not easy to form a conjecture what quantity of gold coin might be current in the Italian States; but, if we may judge of the rest of Italy from what we are told of Rome, the custom of coining gold was not frequent, though, at the same time, the currency of foreign gold was admitted. From the accounts we have of Arms and Armour of

F Gold,

Gold, and of Vessels of the same Metal offered to the Gods, we may conclude that there were considerable quantities. We are certain that such quantities were found in the mines of Vercelli*. There are still valuable remains of those mines, once worked with so much diligence, before the Romans, neglecting their domestic possessions, employed the labour of their slaves in the mines of Gaul and Spain. The Italians had, indeed, at all times, swelled their own treasures out of the mountains of the barbarous nations that surrounded them, as appears from the quantity of gold discovered near Aquileia and in Noricum, in the time of Polybius.

* Pliny tells us, that by a decree of the Senate, no more than five thousand men at a time were allowed to work in those mines.

After

After this short account of the productions of Italy, our next enquiry naturally falls on the State of the Arts in that country, for by them only those Productions could be properly applied;

C H A P. VI.

AN edict of Numa Pompilius, recorded by Plutarch*, shews us what were the most common arts in those simple times, and what is related of the Romans may properly be understood of the Latins and the Sabines; for a wise Legislator would not certainly encourage different usages. Numa, then, having thought it necessary to divide the arts, that the national animosities, which subsisted amongst a people collected from different quarters, might spend themselves in a useful contest amongst the several artists, reduced them to nine. These were Trumpeters, Goldsmiths,

* Plut. in Vit. Num.

Smiths,

Smiths, Dyers, Shoemakers, Curriers, Founders, and Potters; amongst the latter of which were comprized all artists of inferior note. Without five or six of these arts, the rudest societies could hardly have existed. Nor do I wonder that the Trumpeters, or Players on Fifes and Flutes, should then be in great numbers; for, beside their services in war, and to the Civil Magistrates in capacity of Messengers and Criers, they played to the Dancers at Festivals, and such like merry-makings, to which, the more simple any people are, the more they are always inclined. But it is somewhat remarkable that the trade of a Goldsmith should be a distinct trade five hundred years before the Romans had any Gold Coin. It is singular that in countries of the greatest poverty

and the least luxury, Workers in Gold were frequent; particularly in the articles of Female Ornaments, Sacred Utenfils, and Crowns offered to the Gods, as the Roman history sufficiently evinces; but it is still more so that these Artists should have been retained by the most barbarous and uncivilized nations, as History likewise certainly informs us. The Romans and the Latins, while poor and frugal, had armour and trappings of gold. This might be done by some nations from motives of ostentation and grandeur, as one may believe of the Samnites in particular; by others, the Gauls for instance, it could not be done out of pomp, but on principles of œconomy: For these, as yet an unsettled and wandering people, converted their possessions into cattle and

and gold, for their more easy conveyance; and their acquisitions from war and agriculture they thought they could not invest more securely than in such things as they carried about their persons. Upon this principle Lucius Valerius, who advised the abrogation of the Oppian Law, which prohibited the use of purple and golden ornaments in the female dress, justly observed, that such a use of gold would rather be a saving than an expensive custom. In those times, then, Artificers in cast and beaten gold were numerous, not only in large and luxurious cities, such as Capua, Thurium, Tarentum, and many of the Tuscan states, but also in the less cultivated parts of Italy. The most delicate dies, and gold embroidery of every kind, were likewise in com-

mon use. Purple was worn by the principal Magistrates and Ladies of Italy, and the Gauls and Samnites, in their military habits, had their frocks variegated and laced with gold.

It is not from hence to be concluded that all the provinces of Italy applied themselves in the same degree to this kind of manufacture; and it is very probable that the Tuscans principally supplied the other inhabitants of Italy, and that there were many artificers of their nation dispersed through various provinces, either at the invitation of the principal people, or induced by the prospect of gain in exhibiting their art to inexperience and curiosity. Polybius tells us, that a great number of Tuscans settled among the Gauls,
and

and it is quite probable that they exercised amongst the Cisalpine Barbarians the various arts of Embroidery and Engraving, and that they made those golden ornaments already mentioned as used by the Gauls, whose professions were almost exclusively those of Agriculture and War. But of whatever country these artificers might be, it is certain that the more noble Arts flourished in Italy, particularly those which we call the Arts of Design. No one is ignorant that amongst the Orders of Architecture, that called the Tuscan is the most ancient. This was in use amongst those Etruscans, or Tuscans, who before the conquests of Rome were so famous throughout Italy and all the ancient world. The simplicity and solidity of the Tuscan Order were,

were, and still are, the admiration of Connoisseurs, after all the refinements that the Grecian Artists introduced into Italy under the Cæsars, and all the boasted discoveries of modern arts. The Capitol, built of square stone by Camillus, the work undoubtedly of Tuscan Architects, was considered as a very noble piece of Architecture, even in the times of Augustan magnificence. The common sewers, constructed by one of the Tarquins, who came out of Tuscany, some remains of which we see at this day, after the space of two thousand two hundred years; the *Via Appia*, a Road still in use, a work rather incomprehensible than imitable, constructed in the time of the Samnite war, three hundred years before the reign of Augustus; the

Walls

Walls of the ancient Fesulæ*, whose firmness was unequalled, and which are still to be seen, with other extraordinary remains of ancient buildings, erected before the Grecian taste prevailed in Italy, shew the manly genius and excellence of the old Italian Architecture†.

On Painting and Sculpture I have not sufficient time to expatiate, nor to describe all those precious remains of Basso Relievos and Pictures which are still to be seen at Cortona in particular, and in several other places.

* A town in Tuscany, now called *Fiesoli*.

† It might have been worth Signor Denina's while to have made some observations here on the origin of the Etruscans; to have shewn that they were a branch of the Pelasgi, and that they brought their Architecture with them from the East.

The reader, who would have a proper account of these, may consult those celebrated Antiquarians, Gori and Maffei. Many writers in Cæsar's time mentioned Statues and Paintings of two or three hundred years old, which were then in several parts of Italy. The Roman History, out of the fabulous times, speaks, though as something uncommon indeed, of Equestrian Statues erected to the Consuls who subdued Latium: And it is well known that, at the same time, several Patricians professed Painting. A branch of the Fabian family had the surname of *Pictor*, from one Caius Fabius, who painted the Temples in the year 450, a time when the Romans could not have been the most polished people of Italy. In Hannibal's time Sempronius Gracchus caused a Painting
to

to be made, in the Temple of Liberty, of a curious kind of Feast which his soldiers had with the people of Beneventum; which could not have been undertaken without as much knowledge of Design at least as the first scholars of Cimabue had on the Revival of the Arts. If these arts were not neglected in Tuscany and the interior parts of Italy, there is no doubt that they were cultivated with more attention, and existed longer in Campania, and all the maritime cities of that quarter, which had an immediate connection with Greece and Sicily. We know particularly that in Tarentum there was a most commodious artificial harbour, a citadel, a theatre, most elegant schools, heads of the most excellent sculpture, and colossuses next in magnitude and execution
to

to that of Rhodes, the stupendous remains of which are still to be seen in the Capitol at Rome; whether one of these Colossuses was conveyed, and dedicated by Fabius Maximus*. Even when the Arts of Design were in their highest perfection at Rome, the famous Statue of Victory, anciently brought from Tarentum, was put up by way of ornament in the Julian Palace.

* The Colossus here mentioned by Denina was the work of Lyfippus. It was fifteen feet higher than the Apollo which Lucullus brought out of Apollonia. And it was probably owing to its magnitude that Fabius Verrucosus did not remove it, when he took away the Hercules. It was sixty feet high.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

THE Italians, from the vicinity and commerce of Greece, derived the same advantages with respect to Literature. They had recourse to all that the happiness of Grecian genius had produced, or still continued to produce, in the period we are speaking of, viz. the fourth and fifth centuries of Rome, three hundred years before the Christian æra. In Cuma, Elea, Locris, Crotona, Thurium, Tarentum, and many other cities of Campania, the Lucanians, Brutians and Messapians, the Greek and Italian languages were then used as promiscuously as the French and German are now in Switzerland

land and many parts of Germany; and the Grecian literature was no less cultivated than in Sicily, where, in the time of Dionysius, the most famous Poets, Philosophers, Historians, and Orators flourished. Ancient Italy in some respects even excelled Greece. Pythagoras, the Founder of the Italian sect, which justly bore the palm of philosophic discipline, flourished in Italy about an hundred years before Socrates, the great oracle of Grecian wisdom. His Philosophy was unrivalled in the schools of Greece, and his followers were of the first rank. Ocellus the Lucanian, Philolaus the Crotonian, Timæus the Locrian, Parmenides, Zeno, and Archytas are not in less reputation with modern Philosophers than they were with Plato himself, who

who from their writings and conversation borrowed a great part of his doctrines *. The Philosophers of the Pythagorean system did not, like most of the Greek Philosophers, employ their disquisitions on idle subtleties. They were the Priests of Virtue, and the Friends of the Community. Pythagoras bore a principal part in the wars and civil government of Crotona, and his Disciples sustained the most important offices in their respective states. Many of them were Lawgivers, as Charondas, the Legislator of Rhegium, Catania, and Thurium; and Zaleucus, from whom the Locrians received excellent laws and ordinances. From the care these Philo-

* Vide Lips. Præp. ad Stoic. Philos. lib. I. Diff. iv.

sophers took in Legislation and the reformation of manners, many small and barren states, such as Elea, the country of Parmenides and of Zeno, rose to an equality with larger and more fruitful provinces. Possibly, the grandeur to which Tarentum rose, was owing chiefly to the wise regulations established there by Archytas the Pythagorean, who presided seven years in that Republick, while Plato, his cotemporary and friend, was vainly preaching to Princes and Tyrants, his Morals and Metaphysics. None, in my opinion, of the Grecian states had so much right to boast of their sages, as Thebes had of Lysis the Tarentine*, the Master of Epaminondas, who

* He too was of the school of Pythagoras. *Vide* Cic. Off. l. i. c. 34.

was certainly one of the first heroes of Greece. If the conduct and success of great men may be attributed principally to their education, we may safely prefer this Italian Philosopher to Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the Masters of Alcibiades, Dionysius *, and Alexander the Great.

I will not here enter into any discussion concerning the native country and origin of Pythagoras, nor dispute whether that great

* Plato, though by the advice of Dion he was retained at the Court of Dionysius, cannot, with much propriety, be called his Master. The Tyrant was established before the Disciple commenced. I am, however, of opinion with my learned Author, Signor Denina, that the *mannered* Philosophy of Pythagoras was better calculated than the abstracted Moral of Plato to teach Princes their proper virtues.

luminary of science was a native of Italy, or came from remoter parts; whether he was originally of Samos, Thurium, Metapontum or Crotona, is little to our present purpose. It is evident that the study of Philosophy was not less cultivated in Italy than in Greece. The success of Pythagoras would not have been so great, nor his school so numerous, had not that study been the prevailing passion. Whether he was or was not a Tuscan, there is no doubt of his being acquainted with the Tuscan Learning, of which there is hardly any ancient author that does not give some account. It is a received, though a false opinion of the ancients, that Numa was a Disciple of Pythagoras. It had no other origin than the resemblance of the Pythagorean Doctrine to the Sabine Philosophy. Science, neither

in Greece nor in Italy, was confined to any particular district. It diffused itself, in a greater or a less degree, through the whole. We should have had the clearest proofs of this, had not the prevalence of the Roman language obscured, and in a short time extinguished the Dialects of the neighbouring provinces, and particularly the Tuscan, which, in Italy was the Language of Letters, and which, so low down as the fifth century of Rome, was taught in schools, as the Greek Language was afterwards. The ancient Italians, at least several States, had public schools and public places of instruction for their youth, something like our Colleges. In Faleria there were several classes likewise, according to the condition of the youth; and the treachery of one of the Masters of these Classes

gave occasion to Historians to mention it, as Livy, on account of some other accident, mentions the public schools of other places. Not only the sons but the daughters of people of the middle rank were taught in public schools. And in Rome, which for many ages was distinguished for its contempt of letters, there were several schools for girls*, where they were taught the Tuscan language, and probably the principles of Ethics and Religion, or, more properly speaking, Mythology.

Neither the polite Learning of the Grecian and Tuscan states, nor the severe Education of the Sabines

* It was from one of these that the famous Virginia was carried off by order of Appius Claudius.

and

and the Latins was exempt from that superstition which constituted a part of the ancient Philosophy. The people of Magna Græcia had their religion in common with the other Greeks; and the Tuscans, who were the most civilized and most learned people in Italy, were even more superstitious than the rest of the Italians; insomuch that they were considered, till the time of Plato, as the Legislators of Theology. Many impostors of that nation made a trade of this, and went through the different states in the united characters of Priests and Soothsayers. None but your Tuscan Conjuror would go down.

The Italians in general, however, were not more superstitious *

* With regard to multitude of Ceremonies, variety of Divinities, and extent of Superstition, the Pythagorean system exceeded almost

than other nations, the Jews excepted *, that flourished before the coming of Christ. Perhaps there was something even less irrational in *their* superstition, than in that of others. To demonstrate this, I shall not sit down to compare the Schools of Pythagoras and Timæus with the several Schools of Greece, nor the Etruscan Ceremonies with those of the Assyrians and Phœnicians, from whence they probably drew their origin. These

every other. Signor Denina has a right, notwithstanding, to give the religion of ancient Italy the preference to other Pagan systems; for some humane or virtuous purpose was cultivated by almost every superstition annexed to it.

* If they were not quite so superstitious as the Italians, it was owing to their theocratical legislation and government. They were naturally more inclined to superstition.

discuf-

discussions are equally difficult and unimportant. The authority of one single Greek, and some general notions from the ancient history of Italy, will be sufficient for my purpose. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, though he makes a parade of proving that the Romans drew their origin and all their institutions from Greece, as if nothing great or good could possibly come from any other country, acknowledges that both the Roman and the Sabine Religion was free from the scandalous tales and ridiculous ceremonies of the Greeks. And indeed, had Julian and Porphyry, who took so much pains to give some good allegorical meaning to the idle stories of the Heathen Theology, confined themselves to the religion of ancient Italy, they might, without much subtlety of argument, have

have given an aspect of rationality to its superstition. If we run over the names of the Italian Gods, we shall find that they were nothing more than distinct Virtues, invested with the attributes of Divinity.

In the Roman history we find that Jupiter has many ascititious names, as Liberator, Salvator, Stator, Feretrius, given him in token of favours received or solicited. Juno, likewise, as the other supreme power, is worshipped with the additional names of Lucina, Pronuba, Sospita, &c. As to the rest of the Divinities who had their temples, as Chastity, Youth, Virtue, Piety, Wisdom, Honour, Concord, Hope, Victory, the worship paid to these may be rationally accounted for. And if in the obscurity of the ancient Italian dialects, we should investigate the primitive signification
of

of many Latin words, we might possibly discover the meaning of that adoration which was paid to several other Deities. The Goddess *Terra*, or *Tellus*, the so much famed Vesta, which in the Latian language signifies nothing more than the Earth *, was not only worshiped as the great Productress of all human necessities, but her influence had an obvious tendency to promote Cultivation, as a kind of religious duty. The famous *Matuta*, or *Aurora*, of the Latins and Sabines, was evidently deified for no other purpose than to encourage Vigilance and Early Labour. The people used to assemble, and the soldiers mustered before sun-rise; and the Dictator, a Magistrate of such importance in ancient Rome, was created

* Stat Vi Terra sua, Vi stando Vesta vocatur.

Ov. Fast. 6. v. 300.
before

before the sun rose. Numa Pompilius, that great master of the minds and manners of men, who may be considered as a complete model of the Latian, Sabine, and Roman wisdom, made the worship of the God *Terminus* and the Goddess *Fides*, a principal object; and this, as every one knows, was to keep the Boundaries of Lands and the Faith of Contracts sacred. For the same reason the *Festi Terminales* were instituted. These were particular days when the people of each neighbourhood met, and, offering Sacrifices near their Landmarks, recognized their Bounds in amicable festivity. Were we permitted to judge where distance of time hardly allows us to conjecture, I should be bold to say, that the ancient Italian Legislators provided, in their religious institutions, for many cases
of

of human convenience and security, which were not sufficiently consulted, either by moral obligations, or social engagements. It was, certainly, the opinion of many, that the Sacred Fire, so solemnly kept by Virgins appointed for that purpose *, was at first nothing more than a necessary decree of the Legislature, that the people, who lived in dispersed cottages and hamlets, might have a common repository of this necessary element, which in those early times they did not extract, as we now do, from flint †.

* *Vesta erat Focus urbis publicus: Unde Cicero in secundo de legibus: Virgines Vestales custodiunt ignem Foci publici sempiternum.*

Pindar. Scholiast.

† I know not whether my author is not mistaken here. Pliny mentions this invention as of high antiquity. *Ignem e Silice Pyrodes Cilicis filius primus excussit.*

For

For this purpose four or six women of different ages were maintained at the public expence *, whose business it was to keep it constantly burning, and to distribute it as occasion required. That their attention might not be withdrawn by domestic cares, they took upon them a solemn vow of virginity, under the sanction of the severest penalties. At the same time they were allowed many privileges to render their retirement and celibacy more supportable. Even the principal Citizens gave up their daughters, and exposed them to the danger of a cruel and infamous death, for the benefit of this necessary institution. I am not ignorant that this establishment,

* See Lafiteau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*. Tom. i. p. 160.

like

like others, in process of time passed into abuse and superstition; but while ignorance abused it, policy supported it as a religious instrument to keep the vulgar in awe. And there is no doubt but, like other institutions, it had originally its merit, with respect to the benefit of society.

C H A P. VIII.

THOSE who have written of the legislation and polity of the ancient Italians as barbarous and uncultivated, possibly have not attended to matters of this kind. As a proof of this bad polity they allege, that the Twelve Tables, the remains of which serve as a specimen of the Civil Law then in being, assigned, as terms of prescription, two years for immoveable goods, and one year for moveables. But when the Landholders, accompanied by their friends and neighbours, made it a custom to visit their boundaries, to have assigned twenty years prescription would have been absurd. And considering the very small quantity of household furni-

furniture which the Latians of those days must have possessed, it was hardly possible that any one should leave his property in the hands of another for the space of a whole year. I will not deny that legislation has been civilized by time, but we may perhaps be too hasty in condemning that unrefined simplicity which is sometimes wanted in our modern laws. The peace of unlitigating times would best prove the boasted precision of those laws, which, after the decline of the commonwealth, were introduced by the Roman Jurisprudence, and enlarged and subtilized by succeeding Interpreters and Legislators. It is true that the Italian States, in that remote æra, had no bulky Folios, nor a long series of Decrees to determine the rights of every individual; but Fraud

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and

and Injustice were combated by capital Laws, and Religion lent her aid to promote Equity and Good Faith. It has been well observed by some ancient Writers on this subject, that the best Republics were not those which had the greatest refinement in the Laws respecting Property, and Contracts more especially. Strabo tells us, that “Zaleucus, in the Laws he gave the Locrians, prescribed pains and penalties, indeed, for every crime, “By that means taking it out of “the power of the Judges to make “them arbitrary, which was allowed in some States, but his laws respecting Contracts were very simple. The Thurians were remarkable for the subtlety of their Jurisprudence, and they had the reputation of ingenuity, but their State declined. The best system
 H “ of

“ of laws then is not the most
 “ circumstantial and extensive, but
 “ the simplest. For, as Plato ob-
 “ serves, where the Laws abound,
 “ there is generally the most con-
 “ tention, as there are commonly
 “ the most diseases where the Phy-
 “ sicians are most numerous.” But
 by the good leave of Plato, and
 of our Geographer, though the mul-
 tiplication of laws does not make
 men more virtuous, the increasing
 vices of society render that multi-
 plication necessary, particularly in
 thriving States; and even the pro-
 gress of the social virtues is some-
 times the cause of fresh troubles in
 society. The circumstantial subtlety
 of the laws then is not so much to
 be blamed (being generally found
 to increase only in proportion with
 vice) as the condition of humanity
 is to be lamented; whilst even the

most desirable circumstances bring their inconveniences along with them.

Two particular reasons rendered an exact precision in the laws in those times less necessary. One was, as we have already observed, that religious worship in some measure supplied the place of Legislation in civil matters: The other arose from the diversity of States. With regard to the Civil Administration, not only every nation, but every town, and every hamlet was independent, and had its internal Government. Of what use then would a Code of Laws have been to them, when, in trafficking with other States, they must have become subject to other laws? If the right of Nations, or natural Equity and good Faith were not sufficient for the regulation of Commerce,

merce, the civil Magistrate would in vain have laboured it by written Laws. They followed then innate Equity or common Reason, not such as we have it described in Books, in the Fragments of the Roman Laws, or the Justinian Code, but such as it was received by the consent of nations, what Lawyers called the *Jus Gentium*. By this expression we now understand that kind of Law, Regulation, and Respect, which the States of civil Society, whether Principalities or Republics, observe by mutual consent in their connections with each other*. But the ancients, less subtle in their distinctions, called the rules of Commerce with Individuals, as well as with States, the *Jus Gentium*, or the Law of

* See Puffendorf, Lib. II. c. iii. § 23.

Nations ; and this had no other principle or foundation than the tacit consent of the people. We see plainly then that this *Jus Gentium*, or, as others chuse to call it, *Jus Publicum*, was not only known, but commonly observed in Italy.

The constitutions of the ancient States were in one circumstance generally defective ; and this was the uncertain condition of Sovereignty, and the consequent instability of Government, which, through almost all the Republics of Italy was the cause of endless contention. Not that the rights of Sovereignty were not then understood ; we have examples enough to convince us, that those people knew what veneration was due to public authority ; but who should hold that authority, was frequently the question. Absolute and hereditary Monarchy was
not

not established in any part of Italy. The Kings were appointed by the favour or consent of the people, and they consulted them in all affairs of difficulty or danger. And as the government of the Nobility was rather an usurpation, than a regular Aristocracy established by law, or confirmed by prescriptive right, so the popular Governments were never so pure, or so lasting, as not to require the intervention of some supreme authority, or senate; whence most Governments came to be of a mixed kind. Yet one of the three modes of Government was still exalted at the expence of another. The mixture was not in due proportion; and sometimes Monarchy, sometimes Aristocracy, and sometimes Democracy prevailed in Italy.

All the memoirs of the ancient Italians agree in this particular, that

they were at first governed by Kings; and this was certainly the most ancient form of Government in every nation. The Tuscans, the Sabines, the people of Latium, had their Kings. And as every city and every town formed a distinct and independent Government, these Kings could have no enormous power. Yet it frequently happened that many States paid obedience to the same Monarch. He who was already Sovereign of one city, solicited and carried his election in others. This was probably the case with Porfena, whom History represents as a powerful King: And he might be called King of the Tuscans, possibly because he was followed by many Tuscan nations, though originally he was only King of Clusium. Thus it was that Rome, from time to time, enlarged her

her dominion in Latium, though the Latins for two centuries maintained their independence. Tolumnius, King of Vejentum, had the Sovereignty of Fidenæ, which was a State wholly independent of the Vejentians; in the same manner as the Lords of Milan, Lucca, and Verona, and several other Princes, before the exaltation of Charles V. obtained and held the sovereignties of many cities independent of Milan, Lucca, and Verona. These Sovereignties were either simply elective, or, at least, if one relation succeeded another, it was by public consent. The people in general were satisfied with Regal Government; but the Nobility, who in their persons and effects were more exposed to the caprice of the Kings, excited amongst the populace an aversion to Royalty, and a desire of Liberty.

Liberty. They concluded that they should live with greater influence and security when the regal power was abolished, which frequently fell into the hands of Adventurers, as Rome fell to Tarquin, and Cuma to Aristodemus. In what State these Revolutions first began, it is not easy to determine. But during the third century of Rome, one people following the example of another, they in general either dismissed their Kings, or ceased to elect new ones. And all Italy, as it were by one common signal, changed its form of Government. The odium of the regal name, and the enthusiasm of Liberty, prevailed so strongly and so universally, that if any city appeared inclined either to continue or to renew the monarchical form of Government, it was immediately pointed out, abused by the

the rest, and abandoned in its greatest necessities. The Vejentians, either weary of the trouble which canvassing and ambition occasioned in the election of their annual Magistrates, or better to provide for the impending war with the Romans, created a new King. By this means they so effectually incurred the displeasure and contempt of the other Tuscans, that, contrary to all political rules, and the customary obligation of assistance, when people of the same nation were attacked by an alien Power, they were left alone to maintain a war which finally was their ruin. Yet a century before, Porfena reigned over this very people with great popularity and power. It is remarkable, that the confederate Latins, who had acknowledged the Kings of Rome for their Lords and Leaders,

Leaders, after Rome fell under the tyranny of the Decemviri, renounced her alliance, and remonstrated that they would have no connection with a people that were not free. In short, from the beginning of the fourth century of the Roman æra, we find little or no mention of a King in any part of Italy. In war, indeed, some nations, and, amongst the rest, the Lucanians gave that title to their Leader, but it imported no more than the title of Dictator, or Captain General, used by other Republics. The entire administration then passed to the Nobility, or rather the Senate, which was the first order between the King and the People, became the supreme Head of Government. And though the first Magistrates were chosen by

by the People, the chief power was in the Nobility, the latter having an active, the former only a passive voice; for none of the common People aspired to civil or military offices. Wealth, indeed, in every State, has a natural influence over Poverty; and where people of fortune have the administration of affairs, the Government of course is an Aristocracy. None of the Italian States were so poor, or so ill conducted, as to be without a public Council, or Senate. Livy speaks not only of the Senates of Naples, Capua, and Cuma, but of Nola, Tusculum, Tybur, Vejentum, and others; from whence it appears that in all States there was an order of men distinct from the common people, in whose hands the Government was invested. But Aristocratic Ty-
ranny

ranny awakened the spirit of popular Liberty. The eyes of the people were opened, and they found that they had only removed one Tyrant to make way for many. They then applied, with all their power, to recover the actual possession of that Liberty, the sweets of which they had only tasted from the tongue of Patrician Eloquence. The Popular Power, if directed with good policy, can never fail. The sovereign authority first felt its weight, and yielded by degrees to the Aristocratical Power, which, in its turn, gave way to the Democracy. Livy observes that, about the time of the Carthaginian war, it was a common disease in the Italian States for the populace to persecute the Nobility, and produces several instances of it. The latter, notwithstanding, retained a great part of their

their power. For the nature of popular Government being fluctuating, uncertain, and incapable of conducting itself independently, the Senate and the Nobility, who acted with greater union and maturer Counsels, were almost always a counterpoise to the popular Factions, and by little and little overcame them. Thus were the States of Italy subject to continual revolutions, and hardly ever enjoyed that perfect equality, which is the end of all free Governments. Either popular favour, or patrician necessities, still threw the lead into one hand, which, under whatever title, held the reins of Government. So we frequently find a Manlius at the head of the Latins; an Accius Tullius, Chief of the Volscians; an Herennius Pontius, over the Samnites; a Calabius, over the Campa-

Campanians; a Valerius, a Camillus, a Fabius, at the head of the Romans: And, indeed, hardly any thing great was ever effected by free States, either at home or abroad, except when the public authority was transferred to an individual. This transferred authority frequently passed from Father to Son; as in the famous Pontian family of the Samnites, and the Calabian of the Campanians, which were at the head of Government for many generations. It is true, nevertheless, that the remedy was frequently worse than the disease, and that this power, which for a time served as a bond of political union, soon afterwards became the banner of Faction and popular divisions. This power, through the favour of the people, descended frequently from Father to Son. The
Son

Son was often an unworthy object, whom the pride of distinguished Birth had rendered inattentive to those Arts and Accomplishments, which entitle the Candidates for public favour to public respect; yet family Influence and Wealth would procure him Partizans, and dishearten competition. Hence the most violent Discords; for popular dissensions are trivial, compared with the hatred which a whole Community conceives against overgrown Power, or which arises between the Heads of Factions contending for Superiority. Who knows not what Carthage suffered from the pretensions of the Nephews of Hamilcar Barca, and the too obstinate opposition of Hanno and his party? The whole Tuscan nation was involved in war, and near losing its liberty, through the Civil Discords of the

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Aretines,

Aretines, who undertook to banish the Licinian family, then grown too powerful, and accustomed to take the lead in Government; and it required the impolitic mediation of a Roman Consul to reconcile the people of Aretium with the Licinians. Large Cities, and fertile Territories, and Towns enriched by their maritime situation, were most liable to these disturbances. Many Cities of Campania and Hetruria, and the Maritime Towns of Magna Grecia, were subject to various Revolutions in Government, and often came under the dominion of strangers, when they could not agree amongst themselves. The envy and the abuse of Riches were the ordinary causes of these evils. On the other hand the Volscians, and all the Latins, the Marfians, and, in general the Samnites and Ligurians,

rians, so far as we are able to gather from the small memoirs we have left of them, were less subject to the usurpations of Tyranny and the Revolutions of Government, and longer maintained the freedom and independency of their States. The nature of their country prevented the inequality of Fortunes, the usual rock on which free States perish.

C H A P. IX.

THE Revolutions in the Italian States did not always proceed from internal disorders. They were frequently owing to external violence, and the vicissitudes of war; which by various means would effect a change of Government, and occasion the rise or fall of this or that particular State.

The distinction of military and commercial States was not known in ancient Italy. Commerce and the Arts indeed flourished more or less in particular Cities, but all knew the art of War. It is true that the principal mercantile cities which had a greater opportunity of enlisting strangers in their service,

did

did not bring up so many of their own Youth to Arms. But I find no State, neither the delicate Capua, nor the wealthy Thurium, nor the moneyed and mercantile Tarentum, that went to war entirely with foreign Soldiers. It seldom happened that the Italians gave the command of their armies to Foreigners, the Tarentines alone excepted, who first introduced this custom in support of their Liberties, when they could no longer trust their Fellow Citizens with the power. Before Pyrrhus, they had on two occasions called into their service Cleonimus the Spartan, and Alexander, King of Epire. The latter, more inclined to aggrandise himself than to support the Tarentines, occasioned as great a Revolution in that part of Italy as

Pyrrhus did afterwards. The Revolutions in that part of Italy which is now called the Kingdom of Naples, proceeded most commonly from the events of Greece and Sicily. Dionysius, the Tyrant of Syracuse, had thoughts of forming a settlement in Italy, and though the scheme failed, it threw many States into discord and disorder, particularly the Brutians and Lucanians, who from that time became a separate people, though they had originally formed but one State.

Military discipline was so much the object of the ancient Italians, that the attention of the Legislature was principally turned to it. Every particular Community had its Statutes of War, and the separate States of each nation were bound in a League for the common defence.

fence. We have already observed, that each Nation was divided into several Communities, which were independent, and governed by their own Laws. Mention is frequently made in the Italian Antiquities of the twelve Tuscan Dynasties. The Brutians were divided into twelve or more Republics, and so likewise were the Samnites and the Lucanians. The Volscians, and the rest of the inhabitants of Latium, supported a free Government in their respective Cities and Cantons, without acknowledging any Supreme or General Magistrate, or Parliament. Nevertheless, in affairs of great consequence, the Deputies of each Community assembled to consult for the common welfare. These general Diets were held either regularly at stated times, or as exigencies required, in the most commodious temples of the

country. The most renowned of these were the Temple of the Goddess Volturna, where the Tuscan Diet assembled, and the sacred Grove of Ferentum, where the Latins held their general Council. In these Assemblies the contests and differences that might arise between the several Communities were determined, the causes of intestine Wars removed, and regulations of Commerce established. Every thing in particular that related to Peace or War, or foreign Connections, was the object of their deliberations. The Deputies of each Community took such measures as seemed to them most expedient with regard to the requests made of succours by foreign Powers, or of taking up arms in defence of the national States. If the Wars were of small moment, and respected only the advantages of some particular City

City or Canton, those only who were interested united in the cause. On Wars of this kind there was no restraint; for no Community was prohibited going to war at its own expence; and the worst that could befall it, in consequence of not consulting the rest, was the forfeiture of their assistance. When the general interest was concerned, general Acts and Negotiations took place. We have an image of this kind of Government still subsisting in the circles of Germany, and the United Provinces of Holland and Switzerland. How some Politicians can assert, that confederate States were unknown to the Ancients, I am unable to conceive.

From the determinations of these Diets, and the choice of a General, made by all, or by some part of the people

people who were resolved on War, sprung the first causes of Revolutions in the State. In the first place the principal authority of all the cities and towns in the nation rested with him who was declared General. Then that city, which was more immediately the occasion of the War, being the head quarters, was considered in some measure as the Capital of the Nation, and the Reputation and Authority both of the City and the General, increased in proportion to the progress of the War. The effects of this influence were such, that other States, either from necessity or inclination, leagued with the General, promoted his conquests, and enlarged his power. This is obvious from the History of the Kings of Rome. Tarquin the first, for instance, appointed King and General of Rome, and afterwards of the

the Latins, went to war with the Tuscans, who, being beaten on the first onset, joined the Conqueror, and followed him as their General. With this reinforcement of the Tuscans he attacked the Sabines, and obliged them to enter into the same Alliance. By this means, a Man, who was a mere Adventurer in Rome, had absolutely a more extensive Dominion than the Roman Republic possessed three hundred years after. That superiority, however, which one State obtained over another, by the skill and valour of its Kings or Generals, was transitory in its nature. As to the Greek Generals, who came at the invitation of the Tarentines, though they had a numerous train of followers, their authority consisted entirely in the military Reputation of the day.

Neither

Neither could the superior influence of the national Generals be of long duration. As there was no right of Succession, it passed to other Families and to other States. The Ambition of Individuals, and the Jealousy of Communities prevented the perpetuity of Power in any particular Family or City. Hence it happened, as we find with respect to the Tuscans in particular, that sometimes one State, sometimes another, claimed and enjoyed the superiority, and in point of Reputation alternately rose and declined.

The smallness and vicinity of different States, under a popular Government, could not fail to produce Disturbances and Wars. Beside the more usual causes of Discord in bordering States, such as the plundering of Confines, the bringing back
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of Exiles; and all the various violations of Law, many others arose from the continual Commerce they had with each other at their Fairs and Festivals, which they held in common not only with people of the same name, as Tuscans, Umbrians, Samnites, but with those of different nations. The Latins and Sabines, for instance, had the Temple of the Goddess Feronia * in common; and it was frequented by both nations, not only for religious but commercial purposes. To these

* Its situation was not far from Tarracina. In later times this Temple, which, by Signor Denina's representation, gives us some idea of the Temple of Jerusalem, was applied to different purposes. *Feronia Libertorum Dea, in cujus Templo ii, sive Bello capti, sive Compeditibus aut Ergastulo educati, seu vindicta manumissi forent, ceu Testamento, ceu Censu, liberorum statum, munera et conditionem accipiebant.* Alex. ab Alexand.

Sanctuaries of Idolatry people came in great numbers; the women, either out of devotion or curiosity, and the men to traffick and exhibit their arms and accoutrements. Jealousies, the irregularities of youth, injuries, insults, quarrels, which would necessarily happen in a concourse of people, assembled for the purposes of unsober festivity, produced public animosities, and involved the States in war. Nor was it seldom that Ambition or Discontent, desirous of Innovation, encouraged these tumults, and scattered the seeds of Jealousy and Sedition *.

When ancient History describes to us the endless contentions of

* Such was the cause of the famous Volscian War. See Livy, lib. ii. and Plutarch, in Coriolanus.

States that were hardly a mile distant from each other, it gives us no very favourable idea of the felicity of those times. The people themselves seem to have felt it. The Husbandman was not always willing to exchange the peaceable pleasures of his condition for the severities of War, and Administration was frequently obliged to call in the influence of Religion, when reinforcements were wanting. Hence we find an account of the consecrated Laws of the Tuscans, Latins and Samnites, on occasion of violent and dangerous wars*.

How far these foreign Wars, intestine Discords, and Revolutions of Government were to be considered as political evils, it requires

* Livy, lib. iv. and lib. ix.

some

some Philosophy to determine. At present the Variety of Arts and Sciences, the facility of Commerce, and several other causes that fill life with activity, rescue us from the certain mischiefs of Indolence, and furnish so many means of amusement or employment, that no one need long be unemployed or unamused. Religious exercises, study, and intellectual pursuits, come in aid of the mind, employ the hours we have to spare from the functions of Civil Society, and fill up the intervals of unincumbered life. Mankind in general can better support the toils of labour than the tedium of tranquillity. From the moral necessity of giving employment to the mind proceed the rage of Slander and the thirst of News. That necessity always existed; and the
Ancients

Ancients must needs have had recourse to some method to avoid the inactivity of quiet. Natural instinct taught, and the necessity of Government obliged the inhabitants of the same Region to associate. Hence we find, that in the Italian States, as well in the early times of Rome as in the middle ages, men lived and lodged near to each other, had their public walks, and public edifices for the purposes of Association. It is obvious to imagine that in this state of rude Liberty, such meetings could hardly pass without taking account of the public Officers, without reviling the neighbouring States, without a continual desire of Novelty, and infinite projects of Reformation in the political and military Departments. National Jealousy, and the untamed spirit of Independency, or the desire of Booty, ex-

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cited

cited to enterprize, and men were so much inured to the fatigues and dangers of War, that they had no considerations equal to the love of Plunder, and the thirst of Praise. They were like Gamesters, in short, who still find a pleasure, however ruinous, in the game, elated by past victories, or allured by distant hopes. It is not to be wondered that those should be inclined to War, as a necessary subsistence, who inhabited barren and ungrateful Countries. Such were part of the Volscians, the Latins, and Ligurians, and such were all who found their provinces inadequate to their numbers. The answer of Brennus to the Roman Ambassadors, who enquired what injury the Clusians had done to the Gauls, that the latter should invade their Country, is remarkable: “ The injury,

“ jury,

“ jury, said Brennus, that the Clu-
 “ sians have done us is this, that
 “ having a track of country more
 “ than sufficient for themselves,
 “ they will give none to us, who
 “ are poorer and more numerous.
 “ Thus it was, Romans, that the
 “ Albans, the people of Fidenæ
 “ and Ardea formerly, and now the
 “ Vejentians, the Capenates, many
 “ of the Faliscians and Volscians,
 “ with whom you are at war, in-
 “ jured you: And if they do not
 “ give you part of their territories,
 “ you make them slaves, destroy
 “ their state, and demolish their
 “ cities. You do not apprehend that
 “ there is any thing unjust or in-
 “ jurious in this. You follow the
 “ oldest of all Laws, which is, that
 “ the weaker submit to the stronger;
 “ a Law which subsists through the

“ whole Order of Nature, from the
 “ Supreme Being to the Brute Cre-
 “ ation, who know likewise by in-
 “ stinct, that the strong should have
 “ more than the weak.” If these
 particulars, which are found in Livy,
 and more distinctly related by Plu-
 tarch, had any foundation in the
 Roman or Tuscan Annals, they would
 be thought a sufficient proof that the
 idea of national Equity amongst the
 ancient Italians was barbarous and
 irrational. But where, it may be
 asked, are the States so civilized,
 and so moderate, that they do not
 presume upon the same principle,
 that the strong should give Laws to
 the weak ? The operations of ancient
 Simplicity were of a freer cast, and a
 more undisguised Spirit. They ac-
 knowledged their inducements to War,
 and boasted their prowess. If we fol-
 low the first dictates of Nature, we
 shall

shall hardly condemn a brave people, who chose rather to compel their Neighbours to give up their superfluities, than to suffer the miseries of famine. The Law of Necessity, which is natural Equity, takes place here. But it is unfortunately true, that human desires go farther, and while Injury subsists, Wars and Contests will subsist likewise.

The Gauls, nevertheless, did not take up arms contrary to the Law of Nations: however uncivilized they may be represented in History, their War with Rome was justified by the conduct of the Roman Ambassadors, who, contrary to that Law, committed hostilities in their army; and they previously remonstrated on this violation of national Honour. The Romans had, indeed, their Priests

and Heralds of War, and the pomp of their ceremonies gave them the reputation of Justice: but possibly they were not more entitled to it than the other Italian States; and if they had kept public Faith as scrupulously as they required others to keep it, their possessions in Italy would not have been so extensive.

Their Instruments or public Acts of Peace, Alliances and Vassalage, were, in the simplest style of Language, engraved on Tables, and Columns of Wood, Stone, or Metal, and exposed in public places and in most of their Temples. These Records were so plain that they seldom occasioned disputes. It was not then the custom to send Ambassadors with so much pomp and state as we give them now. They went only on emergencies in
less

less time than we can dispatch a Courier. The rest of the national business which is now performed by foreign Ministers residing at each Court, was carried on in those free and popular Governments by the correspondence of Merchants and others, whom business led to different Countries.

The ancient States of Italy unavoidably had their Wars; but they were not Wars of such fatality as those that followed, when the Roman Eagle stained her Talons with the Blood of Human Kind. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, our principal Guide in the Antiquities of Italy, gives us an idea of her ancient Wars. " The War, says he, that broke out amongst the Latins lasted five years, and was a kind of Civil War, car-

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" ried

“ ried on in the old manner ; none
 “ of their cities were demolished ;
 “ none of the people made slaves,
 “ or involved in any insupportable
 “ calamity. They fell upon each
 “ others Territories in time of
 “ Harvest, pillaged the Country, and
 “ exchanged Prisoners.” It appears
 from many passages in Dionysius,
 Livy, and Plutarch, that the Roman
 Wars were primarily a kind of rob-
 beries, carried on with great bravery
 and rude valour, but without cruelty
 or much destruction. A Roman
 General, exhorting his Soldiers to
 run their swords through the backs
 of the Gauls, who were considered
 as a kind of enemies very different
 from the Italians, cried, “ What is
 “ it you are doing ? You are not
 “ fighting with the Latins or Sabines,
 “ who after the victory might be-
 “ come

“ come your companions ; you are
 “ contending with ferocious Savages,
 “ and must have their blood, or
 “ give them yours.” From whence
 it appears that the object of War in
 the Italian States was rather to con-
 quer than to destroy.

Had the condition of Slaves in
 those ancient times been the same
 that it was under the Roman Empe-
 rors, and a little before them, or
 that it now is in the despotic Go-
 vernments of Asia and Africa, the
 Italian Nations would have been mi-
 serable indeed. The vicinity of their
 enemies, and the continual skirmishes
 whereby they fell into the hands of
 each other, would have rendered their
 existence one horrid scene of mutual
 slavery. But, beside the improbabi-
 lity that a great number of Slaves
 should be retained by a people for
 the

the most part frugal and laborious, and unaccustomed to Pomp and Luxury, it is very likely that the Servants they had were of barbarous extraction, and multiplied by marriages with each other, rather than by the captures of war. Domestic servitude, moreover, was much more supportable then than under the pomp of Imperial Rome. The Masters of the world considered and treated their foreign slaves as beasts of burthen. The ancient Italians behaved to their Servants as the common Country People now do to their Labourers, or good and charitable Ladies to their Maids. Had not this been the case, what could have excused the inhumanity of those Legislators who permitted the Father to sell his Children a third time? Or what occasion could there have been for
such

such a Law, if it had rarely happened that a Father would so often sell his Children into servitude? From all this we may conclude, that the state of Servitude was not, in the early times of Italy, more severe than the condition of our modern Domestics. If there was any thing painful in it, it was merely in the name, the idea of Liberty being always more agreeable than the gentlest servitude.

The warlike spirit of the Ancients did not interrupt Cultivation. As booty was their object, it was their interest to let the Husbandman plough his fields in quiet, that they might partake of his harvest. The effect of Conquest was generally a cession of Lands from the conquered State; yet it is difficult to conceive how this should be made in such a proportion
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that each Citizen should feel no more than his share of the loss. Possibly, however, the frequency of conflict and reprisals rendered such losses of no long continuance, and consequently not very grievous. The Conqueror was sometimes content with an ill-mannered triumph, and the conquered was sent home, under a yoke, half naked, without arms or baggage. The Italians were so fond of bringing their rivals to this disgrace, that for the sake of it they often forfeited the most essential advantages of victory. We shall see shortly, that the Samnites ruined themselves and their country by being unwilling to give up this vain, but, according to the humour of those times, joyous spectacle,

That

That ferocity of Manners, that rude and barbarous Bravery which animated the ancient Italians to hold themselves superior, at least not to yield to their neighbours, was possibly the original cause of the equality which subsisted amongst them. The more powerful States were ever meditating the conquest of surrounding nations, and promising themselves the reduction of Italy; but, at the same time, their weaker neighbours were ever on the watch to prevent their aggrandisement: And the resolution not to yield is often as sure a Shield of Defence, as the Spirit of Conquest is the Promoter of Power. Those States which, on account of their powerful neighbours, were not secure in their own internal strength, sought the alliance of others more remote, whose power was not obnoxious.

noxious. Thus the Tiburtines, who were desirous of maintaining their reputation amongst the other Republics of Latium, were in constant alliance with the people on the Italian side of the Appenines, properly speaking, with the Gauls. The Arpinates, who could not agree with their neighbours, the Samnites, and were apprehensive of their power, sided with the Romans; and some of the Brutians, out of spite to the Salentines, did the same. The Tyrants of Sicily were always favourable to the Romans whilst the dominions of the latter did not go beyond the Confines of Latium. They found the mutual advantage of making a diversion in favour of each other, when at war with the Campanians, Brutians, Lucanians, Tarentines, or the States of Magna Græcia. The
 reci-

reciprocal hatred of the neighbouring States put them upon these impolitic connections. In any case, before that concluding blow which totally overturned the ancient States of Italy, the balance of power was still in suspense; for when one party had acquired a visible superiority, it equalized with another: And though this perfect equality could not be carried through all the States, yet as one grew apparently stronger than the rest, another was put on an equal footing by fresh contingents. So that the equality which could not subsist through the whole was constituted between two nations, which by that means became the Heads of two Parties. If the fear of being involved in a sudden war with an unequal force restrained any Republick from avowing its measures openly, other expedi-

expedients were at hand. It was a maxim generally received, that those Republicks, between which there was any Treaty of Peace or Friendship, should never send assistance, in case of War, to the Enemies of either Party. But this agreement did not restrain individuals from pursuing Fortune or Reputation, by entering into the Armies of other States. It is easy to imagine too, that the principal People of every State would encourage their Youth to enter into the pay of those who were encountering with an Enemy, of whose Power they might themselves have reason to be apprehensive. Livy, on several occasions, mentions the particular pains the Romans took, to enquire whether the Soldiers who had borne Arms against them, did it of their own, or by public authority. They were
not

not much inclined to Neutrality or Mediation. To enjoy Peace themselves, or to procure it for others, was not so much their object as to watch the motions of the Conqueror, and to prevent him from carrying his Arms too far. That cautious foresight, which Ambition, or self security, has made a necessary part of modern Policy, was not unknown to the ancient Republicks. But the difference between our Negotiations and theirs, arises from this; that the Strictness of modern Government renders ours slow and secret; the Freedom of their Constitution rendered theirs open and impetuous. But whatever might be their Policy, the Italian States might have preserved their independency, except during the period

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of the Tuscan Ruin, and the Gallic Invasion, had not the Ambition of the Samnites disturbed the common current of Freedom.

PART

P A R T II.

C H A P. I.

FROM what has been observed in the preceding Book, the reader will naturally become solicitous to know, how, in the midst of so many flourishing States, Rome, which was long numbered with the lowest, should acquire such prodigious power, as not only to assert her superiority over the Circles of Italy, but to involve in her immensity all the Kingdoms in the World. All ancient Historians have naturally been led to reflect on the causes of her extraordinary progress. And modern Authors, who have drawn from the treasures of Antiquity, have

recapitulated their reflections on this subject, have repeated what Polybius, Salust, Livy, Tacitus, and Plutarch have said concerning it, and added their own conjectures. We have two Works in particular, of two famous Writers, whose proper object it was to examine into these causes. But neither has the Florentine Secretary, in his Dissertations on the first Decade of Livy, nor Montesquieu, in his Considerations on the Grandeur and Decline of the Romans, in my opinion, discovered the true origin of the Roman Greatness. The Florentine Secretary dwells chiefly on the comparison of the modern with the ancient State, to the great disadvantage of the former, and so far he may be right; but, with all his sagacity, he had not been at the pains to inform himself,

himself, that the conduct of Rome, in her early State, was similar only to that of other States of Italy. Consequently the cause still remains undiscovered, why the Romans became superior to the rest of the Italians. Montesquieu, in his concise and compact manner, speaks too slightly of the conquests of the first Romans, and so falls into the defects of the Florentine. It is by no means difficult to imagine how the Romans, when Masters of Italy, reduced other nations; but by what means they became Masters of Italy, Montesquieu either speaks not at all, or speaks in obscure and evasive terms. One error, or, at least, one essential prejudice, is common not only to Machiavel and Montesquieu, but to all the Essayists on the Roman History, which is, to suppose that Rome arrived at her

pitch of grandeur by virtue of her primary Institutes and peculiar Statutes. Whereas it is obvious that there was nothing so original in her Institutes, nothing so peculiar in her Statutes, as might consequently give her the superiority over the other States of Italy. In fact, neither the divisions between the Senate and the people, nor the exercise of the Civil in union with the Military Power, neither patriotic Affection, nor the thirst of Glory, nor any particular respect to the Sanctions of Religion, which made the Soldiers Enthusiasts in battle, and obedient to command;—neither of these circumstances was so peculiarly Roman, that the other States of Italy might not claim their share in them. The Business of Colonization is well known; and it is the received opinion that Rome was

was originally a Colony. Humanity, it may be presumed, never had so much influence as to prevent any State, that found an ability to destroy a rival Power, from executing its purpose; and it was the common policy of Princes to invite Foreigners into their service and subjection, by the prospect of peculiar privileges and conveniences of life. It is true that the rigor of Discipline had a great influence in the aggrandisement of the Romans. But whence arose that Discipline? and when, and from whom did they learn it? We have already seen that not only the Romans, but all the people of Latium, all the Samnites, the Sabines, the Tuscans had the same Statutes with respect to War, and were all military people. I am sensible that the Roman Writers, when they found

themselves under a necessity of praising the discipline of rival States, finally referred their military skill to the instruction of the Romans. It is easy to see the vanity and the falsity of this assumption. As it cannot be pretended that the Latins ever learnt of the Romans, so it is obvious, from the testimony of the Romans themselves, that they learnt from the Samnites in particular, amongst others, the Art of War. Were the ancient Romans more respectable in their History than the rest of the Italians? What people like them had ever the disgrace of an army that suffered itself to be beaten out of spite to its General? What people like them were dishonoured by a garrison that destroyed a peaceable city it was appointed to protect? In what other Annals can we find such Mutinies, such

such Colonian Rebellions? The Romans seldom went to war but against Armies and Generals inferior to their own. If in the later ages, when the Commonwealth carried her arms beyond the confines of Italy, her Soldiers were better disciplined than those of other European Powers, or those of Asia and Africa, the causes were various. The long conflicts they had to sustain with the belligerent Powers of their own nation were to them a School of Military Knowledge. It is strange, however, that the Laws of military Subordination were so late in taking place, that it was for a long time esteemed a virtue in the Soldiers to obey their commanding officers*.

* Livy, in his account of the Vejentian war, says, *tunc edictum, ne quis injussu pugnaret*. And this was three hundred and fifty years after the foundation of Rome,

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The non-redemption of Prisoners, so highly extolled by Poets and Politicians, was a maxim which did not take place, or become a fundamental rule of Government, till after the Romans were Masters of Italy. If we consider the internal Police and Civil Government of Rome, we shall find the Plebeians so obstinate and rebellious, that, out of spite to the Patricians, they risked the horrors of famine, and abandoned the culture of the ground; the Nobility, a set of haughty, overbearing Extortioners; and the virtue of the Sexes so little practised by either, that there were few years even in the middle centuries, when some Vestal, notwithstanding the severity of her punishment, did not lose her Honour. Matrimonial Faith was so wretched, that the Roman Writers acknowledge the Roman Wives

Wives once entered into a conspiracy to poison their Husbands. The most important Laws were violated or evaded. Private interests, and private connections interfered with the utility, and disturbed the repose of the Public. In short, though I do not deny that some part of the conduct of the ancient Romans was intitled to praise, I must nevertheless affirm, that, setting aside our school-taught ideas of the Roman virtue, if we compare the History of Ancient Rome with that of other States, we shall find that she had neither more virtues nor fewer faults, than were formerly found in the Republicks of Greece and Italy, or more recently in those that were established after the death of Charles the Great, in the Swiss or other European States, which were or are independent Communities.

We

We must therefore look in other causes for the origin of the Roman Greatness. Rome, in the time of Romulus (whether so called from him, or, what is more probable, from its parent country) must evidently have been nothing more than a petty town in the country of Alba. But the superior genius of Romulus conceived the design of forming it into a State, a design, which, in those rude times, was easily executed by men of more than ordinary spirit. However, the most expeditious method of effecting this was to put himself at the head of the Outlaws, Vagabonds, and Malcontents of other Provinces; the number of which, in Republicks and mixt Governments, is frequently considerable. Possibly he took the opportunity of some war, or civil commotion of the Albans, and that the vanquished party, under the conduct of
Romu-

Romulus, retired into Rome. However that may be, the origin of the Republick is universally allowed to have been of bad reputation; and when we consult those Historians who wrote unconnected with and unsubdued by Rome, we find these matters represented in a miserable light. But what afterwards gave Romulus and his successors an opportunity of advancing their power without injustice, was the situation of their country. Rome was in the centre of the Tuscan, Latin, and Sabine nations, the former of which was already wealthy, magnificent, and luxurious, the others rude and poor. The Kings of Rome adopted so much of the arts and manners of the Tuscans, as the nature of their State would admit; as much as was sufficient to attract the popular curiosity of the Latins and Sabines. At the same time they retained

tained as much of the severity of the latter as was consistent with their Tuscan connections. Upon the same principle Mahomet composed his new system of Religion and Politics out of the various Doctrines of Christians, Jews, and Pagans, and by that means procured followers of every sect. For the same purpose the Romans, from the earliest times, had their Shews and Games, in imitation of the Tuscans *.

* Theseus and his successors observed the same method in colonizing and embodying the people of Attica, that Denina here ascribes to the first settlers of Rome.

Præmiaque ingentes Pagos & Compita circum
Theseidæ posuere — GEORG. ii. v. 383.

So this passage is read, and the word *ingentes* applied by some Critics to *pagos*, by others to *Theseidæ*, the latter of which, as the late Mr. Noddesworth observes, is not Virgilian, and the former, I am sure, has no propriety. I believe the passage ought to stand thus :

Præmiaque in gentes, Pagos et Compita circum,
Theseidæ posuere —

Their

Their ensigns of Magistracy, their Religious Ceremonies, their public Edifices, which History represents as magnificent for those rude times, were all likewise in the Tuscan fashion. These circumstances, of no small influence with the vulgar, drew numbers of people to Rome from the Lætan and Sabine States, where the severity of their manners had hardly suffered them to be known*. To

* Dionysius tells us, that during some hostilities between the Romans and Latins, a Proclamation was issued, whereby such women as had been born in one of the States and married in the other, were permitted either to return to their Relations or to stay with their Husbands; and that, of the Latin women, numbers of whom were married in Rome, very few chose to return to their country. Whereas all the Roman women (except two) who had married with Latins, chose to return to Rome. This shews, says the Historian, how agreeable Rome was

these we may add the multitudes which, in every age, the Spirit of Adventure leads in quest of Fortune to rising Colonies. Even wealthy families of the neighbouring Countries, Latians, Tuscans, and Sabines, disgusted either with their natural or political situation, removed with their effects and clients to the new city, where they were secure of a kind reception and due honours. It is well known that the Tarquins, who brought the greatest advantages to

was to the women. The same motives must have induced men of a certain genius and disposition to settle there, and must have been a constant source of population. The Temple of Diana, which was built at the joint expence of the Romans and Latins, but which, Livy tells us, Servius Tullius had the address to have built in Rome, was another cause of concourse and population.

Rome,

Rome, came from Tarquinium, a city of Tuscany, in consequence of some ill usage from the haughty Nobility of their country. The Claudian family, too, left the country of the Sabines on account of civil dissensions, and came to Rome, accompanied (as History informs us) by more than five thousand of their Relations, Friends, and Clients. These circumstances, and much more the robberies, the insults, and scurrilities, which a collection of Vagabonds would necessarily exercise on their neighbours, gave Rome her enemies on every side. Yet these enemies contributed rather to increase than to reduce her power; as her people were thus taught, from the beginning, the indispensable exercise of Arms.

Undoubtedly, if the neighbouring
Tuscans, Latins, and Sabines had

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unitedly

unitedly fallen upon Rome, that City must soon have been destroyed. But men are not usually active in revenging the injuries, or preventing the dangers of others. The Romans found that the offence they had given to one Province did not arm the rest; and that it was seldom an injured city could procure the aid of two or three others, though of the same Nation, and at no great distance. The people of Aretium and Volaterra, for instance, did not give themselves much trouble about the Vejentians; nor the people of Anagnia for those of Antium or Tusculum: and when roused by the approach of danger to stem the increasing torrent, they were too late. It is observable, that when the Romans first went to war, though self defence or retaliation might be their pretext, they still made one war productive of another. Hence they made an infinite

nite number of small acquisitions, and these enabled them afterwards to make larger. If they were sometimes vanquished, their disgrace only added to their ferocity, and stimulated their enterprize. The progress of Rome may be compared to that of a Merchant who begins with a small capital, but by peculiar industry and frugality, daily increases it. When he becomes comparatively rich, his original application continues, and his wealth then accumulates in an extraordinary degree: Whereas the Merchant who sets out with a large stock, for want of equal assiduity and attention, frequently reduces his fortune. It is the natural property of wealth, in the progression of families, to produce Pride and Indolence, and those certainly lead to Poverty and Ruin.

The Romans did not omit to procure Auxiliaries, and their neighbours, though they did not like them, were under a necessity of joining them. The Latins being divided, as we have observed, into four principal nations, the Volscians, the Equi, the Hernicians, and Latins properly so called, and being constantly at war amongst themselves, weakened each other, whilst no superior Power rose upon the general ruin. The Romans, whom either choice or necessity engaged in these Wars, derived two considerable advantages from those very circumstances, which, on the first view, appeared unfavourable. As Inhabitants of Latium, they were Members of the Latin State, and immediately under its protection. But either on account of the ignominy of their origin, or the violence and irregularity of their first Settlers,

Settlers, it is obvious from their own Annals, that they were despised, and rejected from the general Community. In process of time, Self-interest and the Pride of Success made them disdain the alliance from which they had been excluded before. They stood alone, whilst the States around them had one common Interest. In these States, however, there were jealousies, and from thence arose two impediments to Aggrandizement and Conquest: One was a want of unanimity in associating their Armaments and appointing their General; the other was the difficulty of dividing their Acquisitions. The latter circumstance greatly suppress the Spirit of Enterprize. In fact, the acquisition of a Town or a Castle could be of little consequence to the Tuscans or the Umbrians, when the property was

to be divided between ten or twelve States, and subdivided amongst individuals. The Romans had, in this respect, a singular advantage over the neighbouring Republicks. In the first place they almost always took the lead in the Confederate Wars. For though the Latins were more numerous, and it was, consequently easier to raise recruits in their quarters, yet the command naturally devolved on Rome, as a Community superior to any particular State either of the Latins or Hernicians. On the other hand, every little enlargement of Territory was of great use to them. And though, in the confiscation and division of Lands, every Citizen might not have a proportionable share, the principal people of the State had advantages always sufficient to animate them to new enterprizes. That they might

might not lose the advantages arising from this union of interests, and that the Romans might not branch themselves out into more States, as the rest of the Italians had done, it was the policy of Government, in the detachment of Colonies, not to invest them with any portion of power. This point was warmly and particularly discussed in the Senate, when, after the long and memorable siege and surrender of Vejentum, it was proposed to send a part of the Senate and the People, as commissional Representatives of part of the Commonwealth. Had this been effected, Rome would have found it a fatal impediment to her future greatness, if not an actual step to her ruin.

To this advantage we may add another, which, though it might seem to

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render

render Rome inferior to all the other cities of Italy, was, perhaps, the true and only cause of her immense fortune. The situation the first Romans pitched upon, was, in fact, the worst they could have chosen, for building a well regulated and well fortified City. They had neither Plain to surround and secure by ramparts and fosses, nor yet any Eminence of natural strength sufficient to defend even a small number of people. There were seven or eight hills bordering on each other, not one of which in particular could either contain many inhabitants, or easily defend itself against the occupiers of the next. To have fortified the whole at once would have been absurd, as the whole would scarcely have contained a million of inhabitants: And though a kind of Castle or Citadel was erected on the Capitoline Mount,

Mount, it was presently obvious, both to the Senate and the People, that the hearts of the Citizens would be the best rampart against their enemies. For this reason, on every occasion of War, the Romans issued into the field, and met the enemy before he approached their gates. For this reason the populace were always for quitting the City, and seeking some place of greater strength, and nothing but the influence and authority of the great Camillus could have put a stop to this, after Rome was taken by the Gauls, and with difficulty rescued from their hands. The principal Citizens, however, understanding their true interest, and determined not to abandon the original seat of the Commonwealth, contrived to keep the enemy as far from the city as possible,
and

and for this reason enlarged their borders.

It is manifest that an Army, such as those of the small States in particular generally were, composed of the Multitude, and conscious of some secure retreat, some rocky Mountain, or fortified City, in the first disorder of battle would naturally take to flight; whereas an Army, that, after giving up the field of battle, should have no place of refuge, would as naturally fight with determined obstinacy. It was certainly a right observation of the Commentator on the Decads of Livy, when he praised the Romans for fighting in the open field *, because such kind of battles are most decisive. The Latins, however, and

* Qua pugnandi Arte (in Aciem) Romanus excellat,

Liv. l. ii,

the

the Samnites had the same advantage, and on this account were superior to the rest of the Italians. They were more dextrous in the field, more active and industrious in their entrenchments, and their camps were like so many moving forts on their frontiers. The Romans, who came latest into distinction, commenced with all the advantages that the experience of others had discovered. Superstition, too, the great principle of political Institutions in their infant State, came in to their assistance; and the belief that their God Terminus never retreated, more effectually made the Roman Soldiers stand their ground. It was easy to foresee, that a city ill fortified, and utterly unable to sustain a siege, even from want of water, would infallibly be undone, on the least indication of weakness. Behold
here

here the origin of the conquering Genius of the Romans, and of their firmness under misfortunes ! Undoubtedly the success of their first enterprises would naturally elevate a rude people, and make them fight with greater spirit in their succeeding Wars : When their boundaries were sufficiently extended, and conquest was no longer necessary to self-security, the Ambition, the Envy, or the Avarice of the Great still cherished the spirit of Arms amongst the People ; and this was the true origin of the Roman Greatness*. Necessity first roused

* What Montesquieu says, in his Considerations on the Grandeur and Decline of the Romans, is, perhaps, more specious than just. " This, (says he) in short, is the History
 " of the Romans. They conquered the World
 " by means of their Principles and Maxims ;
 " but when arrived at this pitch of power,
 " the

the Genius of War, and the habits of experienced and successful Valour still kept him awake. The love of Wealth and Power in latter ages carried on what original Bravery had begun; till, in the unavoidable vicissitude of human affairs, Rome perished beneath the weight of that pile of glory she had been rearing.

The Romans laboured at least five centuries in reducing the Italian States. And though Rome owed something to her situation, and much to that necessity, which is the source of Industry and Valour, she undoubt-

“ the Commonwealth could no longer subsist. Rome was obliged to change her Maxims, and she found her ruin in the change.” It were to be wished that the celebrated President had more clearly explained what those Principles and Maxims were.

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edly owed much likewise to Fortune, or rather to the dispositions of a superior Being, who, in the visible operations of his Providence, frequently humbles the Mighty and raises the Obscure. It is certain that more than four hundred years after the reputed Æra of the Foundation of Rome, the Romans were by no means the first People in Italy, nor even in Latium. And their proper Domain did not, in all probability, extend as far as Marinum*, nor, on the quarter of Tuscany, to Viterbium. But an event, which seemed foreign to the interests of Rome, opened to the Romans a way to the greatest acquisitions.

* This is clear from Livy, who says that more than four hundred years after the building of Rome, the Latins held their general Diet in *sacra Sylva Ferentina*, thought to have been at or near *Marino*.

CLUV. p. 915.

C H A P. II.

THE Sidicini, a small nation of Ausonia, lying between Latium, Samnium, and Campania, were, for some reason or other, attacked by the Samnites, and not thinking themselves capable of standing on their defence, solicited and obtained the assistance of the Campanians. The Samnite Mountaineers, inured to the severities of life, despised the inhabitants of the Plains, and finding the Campanians joining the people of Sidicinium against them, they gladly embraced the occasion to carry their arms into the rich and fertile country of Campania, the effeminacy of whose inhabitants easily exposed them to a foreign yoke. The Campanians, how-

A. U. C.
410.

however, had recourse for assistance to the neighbouring states of Latium, from whom alone they could hope for defence. The people of Latium having recently suffered in several conflicts with the Romans, were but ill able to begin a new War with the Samnites. The Campanians, therefore, sent Ambassadors to Rome to solicit succours on the score of Alliance; but with a secret Commission to make higher offers, if their first demands should be rejected. The Romans were at that time in Alliance with the Samnites; and, whether out of regard to good Faith, or whether they had some intimation of the secret Commission of the Capuan Envoys, they alledged that they could not act against the Samnites, so long as their Alliance with that People subsisted. The Ambassadors then,
agree-

agreeably to their Commission, put the Campanians under the dominion of Rome; saying, that if they would not defend them as Allies, they should for the future defend them as Subjects. This violent remedy was probably dictated rather by that hatred * which subsisted between the States, than by mature policy. The Campanians did not by this means save themselves from the violent incursions of the Samnites, and their new Masters would not protect them for nothing. The worst terms, therefore, they could have made with the enemy would have been better than this absolute subjection to Rome. But this was neither the last, nor, probably, the first instance of those rash

* It was probably more owing to the national cowardliness and effeminacy of the Campanians, than to that hatred Signor Denina here speaks of.

and ruinous Counsels, that have been, and still are followed by free States, when exasperated by hostilities, or infatuated with some animosity against a neighbouring power.

The Romans kept their Faith while they had little or no temptation to part with it, but Campania was too trying an object. It armed against each other two fierce and warlike Nations, and the subjection of Italy was likely to be the reward of the Conqueror. The War continued, with very short truces, seventy three years; and the success on each side was so various, that though the Samnites were vanquished and destroyed at last, they were frequently, and for a long time on the point of beating Rome. But the mad measure they once took of sending home the Roman Legions, after loading them with

every

every kind of disgrace, instead of either putting them to the sword, or dismissing them without insult, as Herennius Pontius prudently advised them; this was the fatal blow that ruined them, and made Rome, when on the brink of destruction, Mistress of Italy.

The weight of this War, though almost too much for their Powers, was not all that the Romans had to struggle with. Their Allies, either fearing the consequences if the Samnites were victorious, or envious of the Glory the Romans would otherwise acquire, withdrew from their interest. The Latins, in particular, who had long beheld with envy the growing Honours of Rome, and saw her little less than absolute Mistress of their Country, considered this as a favourable juncture, either to humble

the Romans, or to share their Reputation. For this purpose they sent Deputies to Rome, to demand of the Senate that one of the Consuls might be chosen out of their own people. The Senate, however, was perfectly convinced of the advantages that resulted from undivided Government, and recent victories over the Hernicians had so much elated the Romans, that they had no idea of investing any share of the Administration in the hands of those whom they considered as their inferiors. The demand of the Latins was received with indignation and contempt; and Rome had the hardiness to sustain, at the same time, two separate Wars against two different Nations, one of a force superior to her own, and the other at least equal. But what are the effects which alarming Difficulties, offended

Pride,

Pride, and insulted Courage will not produce? Two or three accidents at the beginning of the War were of great advantage to the Roman arms. The command of the Army against the Latins fell to the lot of Marcus Manlius, who with unnatural rigour put to death his own Son, a Man of Honour and Virtue, whom, contrary to the orders of his Father, Necessity obliged to attack and Valour enabled to conquer a capital body of the enemy. A few years after, when the ambitious, imperious and inexorable Papirius Cursor was appointed Dictator, it was with difficulty that the brave Quintus Fabius, Lieutenant General of the Cavalry, escaped the rods and the hatchet, (when, in the absence of the Dictator, he fought without orders) though he gained no contemptible victory. It is incredi-

A.U.C.
430.

ble, however, how much these two circumstances contributed to the establishment of Military Discipline in the hazardous operations of those times.

A.U.C.
440.

At the same time, the untempered Pride and unlimited Ambition of Appius Claudius, whilst they threatened to destroy all order in the State, very happily increased its internal strength, when, exhausted by long wars, it required it most. Appius, old and unfit for Campaigns, yet fond of Influence and Reputation, carried matters with so high a hand in the civil department, that, regardless of the odium of the Nobility, he introduced into the Senate people of inferior birth. This encouraged Strangers and Plebeians to hope one day for Patrician Honours, and to enjoy a share in the Administration. The city, of course, became more populous, more animated,

animated, more active*. The consequence of this extraordinary popularity in the Claudian Family was the completion of two great designs, which were the first marks of Rome's unrivalled magnificence. These were the wonderful Aqueduct and the Appian Road. These works will render the name of Appius Claudius superior through posterity to that of any General in the Latian or Samnian Wars, and their remains will be as honourable as their institution was useful.

* Appius Claudius, in censura, Libertinos quoque in Senatum legit: Herculis Sacerdotes pretio corrupit, ut sacra Herculea servos publicos edocerent Viam usque Brundisium Lapidem stravit Anienem Aquam in urbem induxit. Censuram solus omni quinquennio obtinuit. Sex. Aur. de Vir. Illust. cap. 34.

C H A P. III.

THE Acquisitions, or, rather, the Reputation which the Romans obtained in the Eastern Parts of Italy, and their Military Skill, improved by long contests with the Samnites, enabled them more easily to throw the yoke on the Umbrians, the Tuscans and the Cisalpine Gauls. The tide of the Roman Fortune was so rapid, that a few years after Rome carried her arms out of Latium, she bade fair for being Mistress of Italy, when new movements in Magna Grecia endangered even her original existence. During the Wars and Insurrections of the Samnites, and afterwards of the Lucanians, and others of the same Region, against the Romans, the people of

of Tarentum, at that time a city of great wealth and renown, declared for neither party. Though, probably, the first movers of many conspiracies, they beheld, in the ease of Neutrality and the bosom of Pleasure, the progress of Fortune on either side. At length the superiority of the Roman Arms over the Samnites awakened their fears for their own State, and they sent Ambassadors to negotiate a Peace between the two Powers, and at the same time to threaten the Romans with a new War, if they did not evacuate the Samnian Provinces. The Romans, however, conscious of their superiority, made a jest of the weak, though wealthy Tarentines. In the mean time, in consequence of a sudden tumult in Tarentum, some Roman ships were taken and sunk, before Rome suspected Hostilities from any quarter:

quarter: And the insults on the Roman Envoys, who went to demand the cause of these proceedings, cut off all thoughts of Reconciliation. The Tarentines, who usually took foreign Generals into their service, on this occasion engaged King Pyrrhus, the Sovereign of a small State, whom Avarice and Ambition easily induced to carry his arms abroad. The consequent operations clearly proved how much, in War particularly, depends on the authority of undivided command, and how much, in this respect, monarchical Governments have the advantage over others. For though Pyrrhus had here no real Sovereignty, and acted only as a Soldier of Fortune, the hired General of a Republick, he soon became terrible even to the Romans themselves, now strengthened by time and inspirited by conquest. Under his command, beside the Tarentines,

tines, were the Lucanians, the Brutians, and the Samnites, who, though so often beaten and discomfited, were, under the conduct of Pyrrhus, more formidable to the Romans, than they had been in their free and unbroken State. However, though they obstinately hated the Romans for the advantages they had gained, the latter no less obstinately resolved to keep them. And though the Romans knew well how easily such an enemy as Pyrrhus might be prevailed upon to conquer Italy in their favour, upon proper application, they were resolved to hear no terms unless he quitted Italy and returned into Greece.

On this dangerous occasion the Romans had, providentially, two illustrious men, whom Pyrrhus was no more able to corrupt by his Gold, than he was to conquer by his Sword. The
severe

severe virtue of Fabricius and Dentatus undoubtedly saved Italy from a foreign yoke. It is remarkable, moreover, that their Virtues were at this time almost peculiar to those illustrious men. The old Roman Temperance and Frugality, when the Riches of Tarentum entered the city, were no more.

The Romans had hitherto done nothing by Sea, some piratical operations excepted, which were common, at that time, to the Grecian and Italian States. But a juncture, not much different in its circumstances from the case of the Capuans lately mentioned, opened to the Romans a new avenue to Power, strengthened Italy with maritime Resources, and gave her fresh Grainaries for her support.

Some

Some Campanian Soldiers, famous in the History of Rome and Sicily, under the name of Mamertines, were appointed to garrison Messina, about the time that the War with Pyrrhus ended in Italy. Prompted by every vicious appetite, these Soldiers, to enjoy the wealth and the women of the place, murdered the Magistrates, sacked the city, and laid it under all the miseries of military execution. But being besieged by Geron, the greatest Potentate in Sicily, they were likely to suffer the punishment they deserved, when, after several deliberations, whether it would not be more eligible to throw themselves at the feet of Rome or Carthage, than to wait the vengeance of Geron, they at length sent Ambassadors to Rome, offering her their ill gotten city. The Romans, who, a few years before, had severely

severely punished their own Soldiers for the like attempt on Rhegium, did not scruple, on this occasion, to take under their protection a Band of Murderers, when the reward was to be nothing less than a footing in Sicily, and a means of impeding the progress of the Carthaginian Power. It is true, this cost the Romans much blood; for this was the origin of the Carthaginian hatred. The first Punic War was the immediate consequence of their engaging in behalf of the Mamertines; but they found their advantage in it at last, when they were little less than Masters of the rich and fruitful islands of Sicily and Sardinia, which then, for the first time, became Members of Italy.

Still, great part of the Italian States were either exempt from the dominion of

of Rome, or if, under the denomination of Alliance, they felt her Power, they were disposed on the first occasion to shake it off. The reputation, however, which the Romans had acquired in those violent Wars which they had so long sustained with Africa, and concluded with advantage, made them respected by many of their neighbours, and followed in their expeditions, as superior Friends. A new enterprize of the Transalpine Gauls and the Ligurians, who had united to invade Italy, raised the Romans still higher in the scale of Power, comparatively with the other Italian States. The Italians, accustomed to look upon the Gauls as the common enemies of their Nation, had on that account less unwillingness to join the Roman Standard against them; and thus, by following the Ensigns of Rome, they in some measure acknow-

acknowledged her authority. In a few years the Gallic War, terrible at the beginning, was happily concluded. The territorial Acquisitions of Rome were not important, and she knew, by experience, that the Gold she had brought home was not the proper means of her aggrandisement. But the assembly and union of the Italic Powers on this occasion acquainted her with their force, and she found that of her Subjects and Confederates six hundred thousand men were enrolled.

Against these immense numbers, numbers unheard of either before or since, had Hannibal the hardiness to march at the head of twenty thousand men. After his descent from the Alps at least he had not more. It is true, the invasion of Hannibal occasioned a revolt among the Gauls; whereof

whereof not only the Transalpines, but those of Italy, and the Insubri in particular, joined the Carthaginian army. Moreover, after the famous actions of Trebia, Trasimenus, and Cannæ, which threatened Rome with inevitable ruin, the Samnites, the Campanians, Lucanians, the Brutians, in short, the greatest part of the Subjects or Confederates of Rome, submitted to the Carthaginians. The Capuans, in particular, conceived hopes of becoming equal if not superior to the Romans, and, by means of the African arms, of remaining Lords of Italy, when Hannibal was gone. But when the smiles of that fortune, which made the Italians for a time balance between Hannibal and Rome, were no more, and when the Conqueror was constrained to return to Carthage, the Romans were more absolute Masters of Italy than ever.

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CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

BUT though Rome asserted her authority over the Italian States in general, every State was not in the same degree of dependence. Some were governed by their own original Laws; others, the Colonies, for instance, had mixed Laws; partly observing the Laws and Privileges of the Romans, and partly retaining those Laws and peculiar Customs which they had followed in a State of Freedom. These were, for the most part, called Municipals, as the Cities that went under the title of Colonies were composed partly of the ancient inhabitants, and partly of Colonists detached from Rome. But the Civil Administration, as well of the

the Municipals as the Colonies, was conducted by Magistrates elected by themselves, or a public Council, which they called a Senate, or Court of Decurions. There was a third kind of cities in a worse situation; for being unable, on account of domestic quarrels, to govern themselves, they had solicited Laws and Magistrates of the Romans; and amongst the first of these was Capua. Or, otherwise, having forfeited their original Rights by Rebellion, they were obliged, when reduced, to take their Magistrates from the Conqueror, and these were called Præfectorial Cities. But whatever difference there might be in the civil and municipal Laws of the Colonies and Præfectorial Cities, they were equally dependent on Rome in many respects. Not to mention that they were obliged to furnish a certain

number of horse and foot, and money and provisions, as occasion required; (this, when properly regulated, being the least burthen that any Government can lay upon the people,) not to enquire, whether they had any other kind of taxes or imposts—the partial enmity, and the partial favour, the wanton use, and the capricious exercise of power give us an idea sufficiently disagreeable of their subjection to Rome. A popular Government rendered their dependence more intolerable. The meanest Citizen of Rome thought and felt himself above the Patricians of other States. His Voice in Elections and Legislation gave him a personal weight in the Dispositions of Peace and War. In the growing influence of popular Power, the lowest Plebeian, with spirit and impudence, might issue forth a Tribune, a Prætor, a Con-

a Consul, *and have it in his power to do as much mischief as a King.* Hence it is easy to conceive how very desirous the Italians must have been of admission to such privileges, and of being constituted Citizens of Rome. As the Empire enlarged, their desire grew stronger, and stronger too grew their reasons and their right. All the Conquests that Rome made out of Italy, she made principally by the hands of the Confederate Italians*. But the more her Dignity increased, the more haughty her Citizens grew, and the more unwilling to admit their associates in power a people whom they considered as their subjects. The Roman Nobility, in particular, though sensible of their just pretensions, were

* Petebant enim eam civitatem cujus imperium armis tuebantur. VELL. PATERC.

highly interested in keeping under the Tribunitial Power, and consequently endeavoured to cut off all hopes of their admission to the Legislature. The Italians, however, had many means of making themselves Citizens of Rome. Many of them would enter into the service of a Roman Citizen, by which means they afterwards obtained, according to contract, the Freedom of the City, from whence slaves enfranchised became *ipso facto* Citizens. Others continuing some time in Rome, under feigned names and extractions, procured themselves to be enrolled in the Censor's lists. The Latian Cities had peculiar Privileges in this respect*. Their Citizens

* The Latian right, so famous in the seventh and eighth centuries, was the right of being Citizens of an inferior order. The Latins were of the middle rank between Citizens and Subjects. See SIEONIUS, *De jure Italico*.

could

could more easily obtain the Freedom of Rome, and this circumstance brought them many emigrants from the other Italian States. These various modes of admission occasioned innumerable trials in the Courts of Rome; and sometimes the right of Freedom was disputed even where the Consular Power had taken place, as in the case of Perpenna. Hence confusion and disorder ran through the greatest part of Italy; and the Municipal States were in a worse condition than before. Disorders continually happened in the administration of justice, which was often evaded by those who alledged their Freedom of Rome; the country was almost depopulated by the migration of those who, from time to time, went in quest of that Freedom; and to support the office of a Magistrate in the municipal

Communities, was attended with infinite trouble and difficulty. The Samnites and the Pelignians once sent Ambassadors to the Senate to complain of the emigration of their people. They represented, that to Fregellæ alone, a city of Latium, where by settling they could more easily obtain the Freedom of Rome, four thousand families had removed from Samnium. The Senate, however, though continually teased with these complaints of the Municipals, and dissatisfied to see the right of Freedom become so common, could find no proper remedy for it. At length the endless quarrels between the People, or rather between the Tribunes and the Senate, occasioned a general Revolution in the State of Italy.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

ONE of the tribunitial attempts of C. Gracchus was to extend the Freedom of Rome to all the Italian States, even as far as the Alps * ; but, overborne by the Patrician party, this, with the rest of his views, was for that time disappointed. Marcus Drusus having procured himself to be elected Tribune in support of the Patricians, whom the Demagogue Consul Philip persecuted with great acrimony, in order to obtain a popular majority in their favour, offered the *Jus Quiritum*, the Freedom of Rome, and the Right

* Dabat Civitatem omnibus Italicis: Exte-
debat eam pene usque ad Alpes.

VELL. l. ii.

of Voting at Elections, and in Courts of Judicature; to all the inhabitants of Italy. There was at that time a powerful Marſian; called Popedius Silo; who was at the head of all the new Denizens of Rome. This man going to Rome with a large train ſecretly armed, was met near the City by Cneius Domitius, a noble Roman, and interrogated whither he was marching with ſuch a band. We are marching to Rome, answered Popedius, at the invitation of the Tribunes, to take up our Freedom. Domitius, upon this, endeavoured, in an amicable manner, to perſuade him, that it would be a better meaſure to depend on the liberality of the Senate for what the Tribunes could only procure by ſedition and violence; could poſſibly not procure at all, and what, if ſo procured, might not be legal or laſting.

lasting. Popedius, moved by these arguments, returned home with his whole train, flattering himself that the Senate would certainly make it a point to gratify their wishes. Marcus Drusus, in the mean time, was taken off by the treachery of his enemies, and the Italians soon perceived the vanity of the hopes they had indulged. The unprecedented disturbances with which Rome was agitated, convinced them that she had nothing less at heart than to admit them to her Franchises. One Quintus Varius moved for the impeachment of those who had promised the Freedom of the City to the Confederates, and a Law passed upon this motion. The Promoters of this Law were the Equestrians, in order to harass the Patricians, by whose consent Drusus had moved the people to solicit their Freedom. So far,

far, however, was this from the truth; that Drusus was in disgrace with the Nobility, for having given hopes to the Italians that they might be made Citizens of Rome. This Law of Varius, as the Judiciary Authority was then in the hands of the Equestrians, occasioned the exile and extermination of many respectable Citizens, the excellent Metellus Pius amongst the rest, and filled Rome with tumult and affliction *. At length Varius himself was condemned, upon proof of his being at the bottom of these civil disorders, and secretly the promoter of the popular preten-

* Cicero, in his three Books *De Oratore*, several times mentions these disturbances, and observes particularly, that the celebrated Orator, Marcus Crassus, whose Funeral Oration he wrote in his third Book, died a violent death in the turbulent Consulship of Marcius Philip.
fions.

sions. The Italians, finding with indignation that the Romans, far from entering into the merits, made a jest of their cause, were determined to try the effect of menaces on their haughty Masters. On this resolution they made a League among themselves, and appointing Corfinium * for the rendezvous of the Confederates, they gave that city the name of Italica, as being the capital of the people of Italy. In imitation of Rome they created two Consuls, elected five hundred Senators, and made several Prætors, some of whom were dispatched to the government of different cities, others continued in Corfinium to attend to political business. The War begun with the slaughter of all the Roman Citizens in Asculum, and of the Proconsul Quintus Servilius,

* Now Pentina.

who,

who, without reflecting that menaces against those who have shaken off all command are rather hurtful than useful, instead of conciliating measures, had recourse to severity and reproach. Italy was then divided into two Republicks, whose contest was not for any small acquisition of territory, but for one of the greatest Dominions in the World. Undoubtedly if the Confederates had prevailed over the Roman Power, they would either have transferred the seat of government to Corfinium, or they would have driven out the principal inhabitants from Rome, and there have invested themselves with all her Privileges, and with all her Empire. The Samnian and the Marfian Powers, when once they had conquered the Capital, would have found no difficulty in reducing its foreign dependencies. The name
of

of those who had subdued their Conquerors would have been sufficient to secure their obedience. Superior in numbers, and inured to severer discipline than the now luxurious Romans, the Confederates seemed to have the advantage; but the original seat of power is always a great privilege in Civil Wars. Presumption of right produces confidence; and Government affords a variety of resources for renewing its own strength, and dividing and weakening that of the enemy. The Latins and Tuscans had a better fate than the Confederates. The former, being already in some measure Citizens of Rome, thought it impolitic to hazard a certainty for an uncertainty; and the pacific Tuscan, indulging the luxury of quiet, was happy to find Latium between him and the Confederates. In the mean time,

time, neither the Latins, nor the
 Tuscans, nor the Umbrians, though
 apparently in favour of Rome, or
 neutral at least, were displeased with
 the conspiracy of the other States.
 The Cause which the Confederates
 supported at their proper peril, was
 the Cause of Italy in general. It was
 easy to foresee that the Romans, when
 harrassed and weakened by this War,
 would be more liberal to those who
 had not taken up arms against them;
 —and so it happened. Lucius Cæsar,
 the Roman Consul, being defeated by
 the Confederates, and finding their arms
 grow formidable, made a law, whereby
 he granted the Freedom of Rome to
 all the Neutral States. This Law,
 beside greatly reinforcing the Romans,
 was a strong inducement with some
 of the Confederates to treat privately
 for

for Peace, in hopes of the same advantages. After this the League lessened daily, and each party sent Ambassadors to treat separately with the Romans. But here the lovers of the ancient Italian History are to lament the loss of the Eighth Decad of Livy; wherein the Wars, the Negotiations, and the Policy of that people must have been so accurately described.

Though Rome escaped the ruin of this War, she was obliged to grant the Malcontents all they had demanded before; and in the year 665, U. C. by a Decree of the Senate, the Freedom of Rome was granted to all the Italians who laid down their arms. The Confederates, on the other hand, had suffered almost irreparably in the War: The flower of their youth was destroyed, and they had lost upwards

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of

of three hundred thousand men. The circumstances of the times, in which the Negotiations between Rome and Italy followed, rendered these Revolutions very pernicious, and the poor Italians paid but too dear for the privilege of ranking with the Citizens of Rome.

Beside the Confederate War, Rome had another evil rankling in her bosom. The Factions of Marius and Sylla, the People and the Senate, threatened totally to overturn the Commonwealth. The humours which, till this time, from the Seditions of the Gracchi, had been stopped by the repellents of external war, broke out a-fresh. A civil war ensued, and the Commonwealth, divided into two parties, was miserably preying on its own bowels. The advantages which

which the ferocious Marius, the head of the Plebeian party, obtained at first, constrained the Senate to disarm the more audacious of the Italians, by admitting them to the privilege of Citizens. Sylla, who was at this time carrying on war against Mithridates in the East, had, before he left Italy, so much weakened his adversaries, that Cinna had but a very small force; and Marius was a wretched wanderer, seeking where to hide his head, till he was received by Cinna, the Associate of his remaining power. Marius, understanding that the Samnites were not satisfied with the conditions offered them by the Senate, sent to inform them, that if they would join him, they would completely obtain their desires. They made little difficulty of this, and Marius, strengthened by the Malcontents,

Scilla

P 2

found

found as little difficulty in making himself Master of Rome. Those Italian States who shewed themselves inclined to the senatorial party, felt, indeed, more particularly, the cruelty of Marius; but his Coadjutors, the Samnites, found no reason to rejoice in his protection.—Sylla, returning from the East with a numerous and well affected army, easily drove out the party of Marius, and, amidst the cruelties that he exercised on the Romans, he spared not such of the Italians as had joined his rival. One of the most memorable instances of cruelty in those miserable times, was the murder of eight thousand Marians and Samnites, perpetrated one morning in the Forum by the command of Sylla, with as little difficulty as a handful of Malefactors are executed after sentence.

Almost

Almost all the Municipal States and the Colonies suffered more or less from the Civil War. But at last, notwithstanding the imperious orders of Sylla to disfranchise the Samnites, all the Italian nations, with some slight distinctions, were put in possession of the same privileges; for the orders of Sylla in this account did not subsist even during his Dictatorship.

Those Provinces, however, which we now call by the general name of Lombardy, did not then go under the denomination of Italy, and they were in general excluded from the rights of Roman Citizens: But those who have investigated these matters, do not agree as to the mode of government that Rome exercised over them. About twenty years after Sylla, Julius Cæsar, being appointed to the government of Gaul on both sides of the

Alps, excited the Cisalpine Gauls to solicit the same privileges with the Italians. This opened him two avenues to his particular interest. Through the confusion it would occasion in Rome he hoped to rise to arbitrary power, and through the benevolent protection he shewed to this numerous people, he strengthened his arm to effect the ruin of his rivals. It is probable that many individuals and many communities, both Gallic and Venetian, had solicited and obtained the privileges of Roman Citizens under Cæsar, but the shortness of his Government had not permitted the whole to be effected. A few years after, when, upon the Death of Cæsar, the supreme Power fell into the hands of the Triumvirate, or, more properly speaking, of Octavius and Antony, all the Cisalpine Gauls were

were readily enfranchised. Had they continued merely Provincials, they must have had a Governor, or a Vice Consul with a military Command; and the Triumvirs remembered too well what had opened the way to the Power they enjoyed, to suffer such a Command in the neighbourhood of Italy. They thought it better to incorporate with Italy, that country which Nature seemed to have intended for, its Protection; as an Italian Poet observes,

“ Quando dell’ Alpi schermo

“ Pose fra noi, e gli Alemanni, e i Galli.

C H A P. VI.

THE States of Italy were happy, no doubt, in their admission to the Rights and Privileges of Roman Citizens; and it is more than probable, such is the Envy and Partiality of Human Nature, that the old Citizens of Rome were as much discontented. To see their dependents pass from a State of Subjection to an Association of Power, and to divide with Twelve the Authority which had before been communicated only to Four or Five, would necessarily occasion no less Jealousy on the one side than Joy on the other. But though Rome opened her Honours to the Italians in general, she found in them a Support in her Decay; whilst,

whilst, on the other hand, their Ruin commenced at the time when they supposed themselves at the summit of Glory. By this Ruin I do not mean the consequences of the first Social Wars, nor yet those of the Wars of Modena and Perugia afterwards. Those calamities, though great, were not irreparable. The continuance of Peace for two generations would have restored the aspect of Prosperity and Population. The Ruin of Italy proceeded from a fixed internal evil, which, though slower than the Mischiefs of War, was not less pernicious. And this was a change in the Manners and Policy of the Italian States. But, as to assert that Italy, under Cæsar and the first Emperors, was hastening to her ruin, independently of the wars she had to sustain, may seem

seem a paradox to many, it will be necessary to recur to first Principles.

When the success of the Samnite and Carthaginian Wars had given Rome first the superiority over Italy, afterwards over the World, the Fortunes of particular Citizens were enlarged by various means. Riches of course banished from her train those virtues, which her original poverty had long cherished and maintained. Among the vices they introduced were Effeminacy, the Love of Ease and Pleasure, and a Relaxation of Military Discipline which the principal Citizens seemed totally to have abandoned. To remedy this great disorder, which possibly might soon have effected her destruction, before she arrived at such a State, that nothing but a length of time, even with the assistance of the greatest vices, could destroy

destroy her, new Men came in from the municipal States and the lately enfranchised Colonies. For these to attain to Honours and Preferments the same industry was necessary, which had originally raised Rome to her State of Glory. It would be false and absurd to say that after Riches were introduced into Rome, and with Riches Luxury and Effeminacy, none of the ancient Roman Families did any thing great or illustrious, or promoted the interest of the State by Art or Genius. But it is certain that the Foreigners, that is to say, the Italians, (for the Freedom of the City was rarely conferred on any beside) who either before or after the Social War, were invested with the dignities and the offices of Rome, contributed greatly to revive the Roman virtue, and to stop the rapidity of that decline, which,

which, without the incentives of fresh emulation, would have led to ruin. Scipio Africanus, a name so much celebrated in the Roman History, had suffered his army in Spain to be so much enfeebled by delicacy and indulgence, that the Romans might easily have lost every advantage they had gained over the Carthaginians, and with those advantages the Empire of the World. But jealousy of the credit which the elder Cato had gained by the severity of his virtue, fortunately brought Scipio back to discipline. How much that virtue prevented the growth of corruption is recorded in all the memoirs of Rome; where Cato still appears in the first distinction, as a General, an Orator, a Philosopher, a Politician, and an Oeconomist. The union of so many talents had hitherto seemed impossible
to

to a Roman capacity. But Cato, born and bred at Tusculum, far from the effeminacy of the Capital, came to Rome, endowed with manly virtues, and animated by that natural ambition which every man feels on leaving his native retirement to enter on the great stage of life. The Romans had not yet so totally lost their original manners, as to disapprove those virtues which were once thought peculiarly their own. Cato, therefore, rose to honours and employments, and had his followers and his rivals. If the introduction of Provincials was thus useful in the first rise of Roman Luxury, it became much more necessary afterwards, when, beside the vices of the Nobility, the common people were so immersed in idleness, in the quarrels of the Forum, in shews and festivity. This popular depravation
was

was the reason why so few Soldiers could be selected from such multitudes of Citizens. The Legions, originally composed of Romans, were filled up with Marfians, Apulians, Vestinians, Lucanians, men whose former hostilities with Rome now made them better soldiers for her service. To the Nobility, whether Patricians, or Plebeians (for Plebeian extraction did not exclude Nobility, the distinction of Patrician and Plebeian Nobles being frequent in the latter times of the Commonwealth) it was easy to retain the greater part of the civil and military dignities. Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar, were natives of Rome; but at the same time there were other Generals, not of Roman Families, who rose from the lowest station in the army to the highest, who conducted the greatest Wars, and

and were the means of that military progress which Sylla and Cæsar, and other great Generals of the time, had made. Marius and Sertorius, two of the ablest Generals, and the most useful, till private Ambition and Jealousy led them to Rebellion and Civil War, were both natives of small Italian States, which had a little before obtained the Freedom of Rome. These men owed to their original education that severity of manners which rendered them the Disciplinarians of the Roman Army, and placed them over the noblest and politest Roman Officers, who, under their auspices, learnt wisdom and valour. In Cicero's time there were several distinguished Generals, descended as well from the meanest as from the most considerable of the municipal States and Colonies. Cicero himself
stands

stands a glorious proof of the advantages the commonwealth derived from dispensing her freedom externally. And if we consult the annals of Rome while her Republican existence lasted, we shall find men from various States of Italy bearing a distinguished part in the business of Government, almost peculiarly maintaining military discipline, the dignity of the Senate, the cultivated splendor of letters, and restoring, as much as possible, the ancient modesty and gravity of manners; while the descendents of the noblest and most ancient families in Rome were wasting in languor, dissolving in luxury, and shamefully bowing to the Sceptre of the Cæsars. Mæcenas the Tuscan, Marcellus Epirus of Capua, Vibius Crispus of Vercellæ, Thrasea Pætus of Padua, Cassius Severus, Pomponius Secundus of Verona,

Verona, Cecina of Vicentia, had, in the first century of the Roman Empire, few equals, either in the Senate or the Army, among the numerous and distinguished families of Rome. Beside these and many more, whose origin it would be difficult to trace, Vespasian, the great Reformer and Restorer of the Roman Empire, which the vices of the first Cæsars and the Wars of Otho and Vitellius had reduced to a miserable state, was born in a small village near Reate. Of all the Latin Writers who did honour to the times of Cæsar and Trajan, not more than two or three were born in Rome. No one moderately versed in the Latin learning but knows that Ennius, Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Ovid, Livy, Cornelius Nepos, Velleius Paterculus, and the two Plinys, though all born in Italy, were none of them Romans. It is true, their ingenious
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labours were largely recompenced by the Roman Wealth and Honours*; and in this respect the Italian States had indeed an advantage, that their admission to the office and employments of Rome rendered them superior to all other Princes. But for the little vanity the cities of Etruria, for instance, the towns of Latium, Samnium, or the Brutians might enjoy in having a Prætor, a Consul in Rome, a Governor of a Province, or an Imperial Minister of their own country, they had a dreadful payment to make in the utter desolation of their States. That facility which the Italians of every country had in advancing themselves, and making their fortunes in Rome, drew all the world to the Capital; the Rich, because by means of wealth they flattered themselves with

* Signor Denina should have made some exceptions here.

finding their way to power ; the Poor, in prospect of gain, and more plenteous pasturage, amidst the profusion of the metropolis. Of these adventurers, few, after improving their fortunes, returned with those improvements into their own country. We see by continual experience how seldom the people of the country, after Arts, Employments, or Commerce have enriched them in the capital, can be induced to resettle with their fortunes in their native places. The unaccountable passion of residing in the metropolis now infects all orders of men, who have any thing more than is necessary to support them in the country. From these migrations the country in general has nothing to hope, every thing to fear.*

* Among the various evils attending this fashionable folly in England, one of the greatest is the sufferings of the labouring Poor.

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When Men of Fortune resided in the country, their situation was in all respects more tolerable. They had an appeal to these from the tyranny of their unfeeling Masters, the Farmers. When past their labour, they had a support assigned them by men of humanized dispositions, Magistrates, and men of property, who could feel for their wants. This care is now almost totally abandoned to the Farmer; and the Farmer (I speak of the generality) cannot feel. With no other idea than that of getting and saving money, he will calmly see the wretch, who has laboured for him through his life, perishing with want in the impotence of age. The Magistrate to whom he should apply is in the metropolis. I have known many melancholy instances of the truth of this; and wish sincerely that the Legislature would provide against the universality of the evil. This, I think, at least might be done. A weekly allowance, to be paid out of the parish rates, might be assigned by Parliament, to all poor labouring men and women, who should be past a certain age, and have no other visible means of support. I verily believe that this would rescue thousands from the misery and oppression under which they now languish.

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